LIBRARY
EAST TENNESSEE STATE COLLEGE
JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 162 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 18, 1946 NUMBER 20

The Shape of Things

JOHN LLEWELLYN LEWIS HAS LONG ENJOYED a well-deserved reputation as a master of labor warfare, but like many another victorious general who has allowed success to go to his head, he has tended to overplay a good hand. In the current struggle with the mine operators his broad objectives—higher wages and improved provisions for health and safety—are entirely legitimate. His tactics, however, have submerged these issues. Instead of dramatizing the hard lot of "his miners" he has been dramatizing himself. Anxious to establish himself once and for all as *the* hero of labor, he has overlooked the fact that melodrama requires a palpable and powerful villain and, hogging the limelight, has kept the national audience from a full view of the operators. Consequently, as the brownout descended, as industries closed down, as railroad services were curtailed, the public, seeking to pin responsibility on someone, could see only the burly figure of Lewis ranting in the center of the stage. Thereupon calls for action against strikes in general and the coal strike in particular began to reach Capitol Hill in the kind of volume that makes Congressmen take notice. The Senate voted to take up the Case bill with an eagerness that boded no good to labor just as Lewis, seeing a danger signal, ordered the miners back to work for two weeks.

✶

IT WILL NOT BE EASY TO ORDER THEM OUT again in the present state of public opinion, and as a result Lewis may not secure as good terms as he might have done had he started to negotiate in earnest before the lack of coal began to get intolerable. What is more serious is the possibility that by his arrogant attempt to substitute dictation for collective bargaining, he has facilitated a general attack on the workers' organizations. Many legislators are ready to jump at an opportunity to crack down on labor, and with some of labor's best friends on the Hill partially disarmed by public pressure, the danger of hasty measures designed to weaken the whole trade-union movement is not to be lightly dismissed. We can only hope that Congress will allow itself a cooling-off period before it takes the advice of the most reactionary newspapers and starts tearing up the Wagner act. That would be a perfectly futile way of dealing with the coal dispute, and it would certainly do nothing to improve labor relations in general. On the contrary, by encouraging many employers to start a new campaign of union-busting, it would insure an era of more bitter industrial warfare than we have yet known.

✶

THE FACT THAT THE BREAKDOWN OF THE Simla conference was not unexpected does not make it any less depressing. For seven weeks now discussions looking to India's independence have been going on between the British Cabinet mission and the two leading Indian parties. But no way has been found to bridge the gap between the demand of the Congress Party for fundamental Indian unity and the insistence of the Moslem League that Moslem India should be independent. The British mission obviously favors preservation of Indian unity, but it sought for a formula which would provide the Moslem provinces with a large degree of autonomy within a federal constitution. The Congress Party appeared ready to compromise along these lines but only if wider powers were left to the central government than Mohammed Ali Jinnah, leader of the Moslems, was ready to concede. A statement issued after the final meeting of the conference declared, "The Cabinet mission desires to emphasize that no blame can be placed on either party... as both sides did their utmost to come to a settlement." Nor, it appears, can responsibility be put on the British ministers, who with the backing of their government have clearly been making a sincere effort to solve the Indian problem once and for all. Now, for all their anxiety not to impose a solution, they will have to find some way to end the current stalemate. The next step is to set up a provisional government to take the place of the Viceroy's Executive Council, which has resigned. It has been suggested that this government should be wholly Indian and should be given de facto responsibility through an undertaking by the Viceroy not to exercise his legal veto power. If such a government were now offered on an all-party basis, it is hard to see how the Moslems could boycott it and leave a clear field for their Congress rivals.

✶

JUDGING FORM THE FIRST STRAWS, THE most hopeful political winds of this election season will be blowing up from the south. Of the four primaries held last week, Indiana's had no political significance

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS
The Shape of Things 585
The Pulitzer Prizes 588
Gloom in Paris 588
Famine Deadline 589

ARTICLES
Line-up on the British Loan *by I. F. Stone* 590
Is France Swinging to the Right? *by George Slocombe* 591
Real Estate Goes to College *by Carey McWilliams* 593
The Balance Sheet of War *by Jacques Gascuel* 594
The Nazis' Biological Warfare *by Martin Gumpert* 597
Elections Every Sunday *by Donald Downes* 598
In the Wind 599
Czechoslovakia's Rebirth III *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 600
Everybody's Business *by Keith Hutchison* 601

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
The Russian Evolution *by Reinhold Niebuhr* 602
The Status of Women: What Was It? *by Mildred Adams* 603
The Witty Martyrs *by Hermann Kesten* 604
A Faded Violet *by Rolfe Humphries* 605
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 606
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 609
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 609
Art *by Clement Greenberg* 610

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 161 *by Jack Barrett* 611

Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Managing Editor J. King Gordon — *Washington Editor* I. F. Stone — *Literary Editor* Randall Jarrell*

European Editor: J. Alvarez del Vayo

Associate Editors
Robert Bendiner, Keith Hutchison, Maxwell S. Stewart

Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin

Staff Contributors
Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams, Aylmer Vallance

Assistant Managing Editor: Robert Harvey

Copy Editor: Gladys Whiteside. *Assistant Literary Editor:* Caroline Whiting. *Research Editor:* Doris W. Tanz.

Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Advertising Manager: William B. Brown

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

* Margaret Marshall on leave of absence.

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1946, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Washington Editorial Bureau: 318 Kellogg Building. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $5; Two years $8; Three years $11. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1.

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new one.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

and Ohio's was a minor setback for the C. I. O. Political Action Committee, which had worked for the Democratic nomination of Marvin C. Harrison. The labor group has nothing against Senator Huffman, who won the nomination, but believed that the more colorful Harrison would stand a better chance against former Governor Bricker, the uncontested choice of the G. O. P. From Alabama and Florida, on the other hand, come reassuring signs that the progressive forces within the Democratic Party are far from spent. Backed by Senator Pepper, perhaps the most uncompromising New Dealer in Congress, former Governor Spessard L. Holland topped three opponents for the seat of the ineffectual Senator Andrews. With the same backing, George Smathers ousted Representative Pat Cannon, who, mistaking his constituency, had boasted of Pepper's opposition. In Alabama's race for the Democratic nomination for governor first place went to James E. Folsom, a labor-backed candidate who had come out flatly against the poll tax. Folsom will have to fight it out in June against Lieutenant Governor Handy Ellis, a hack politician supported by Alabama's money crowd. Representative Luther Patrick, with a good record in Congress, was unfortunately defeated in Birmingham, but another C. I. O.-backed candidate, Representative Albert Rains, had little trouble in downing Joe Starnes, onetime lieutenant of Martin Dies. The results, by and large, have offered sufficient encouragement to the P. A. C. to warrant Sidney Hillman's announcing a list of 33 Congressional campaigns in which the labor group expects to play a major role. In forthcoming issues of *The Nation* these campaigns will be dealt with in detail.

✶

OUR DIFFICULTY IN SEEING OURSELVES AS others see us must account for the fact that few commentators on the draft of the Inter-American Military Cooperation Act, which the President has just submitted to Congress, have realized how much support this move gives to Russian foreign policy. We have looked very much askance at Soviet military missions in Eastern Europe and have freely criticized the plans Moscow is believed to cherish for organizing the countries in its sphere of influence into a strong military bloc. Yet here we go blithely planning the organization of just such a bloc in the Western Hemisphere. In his message to Congress Mr. Truman explained that he wanted legislative authority for the army and navy to continue and extend their collaboration with the armed forces of the American republics, and with Canada also. It was "highly desirable," he said, "to standardize military organization, training methods, and equipment" so as to assist other American countries in assuming their responsibilities under the United Nations Charter and the Act of Chapultepec. Leadership by this country, he suggested, rested

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon its predominance in technical, economic, and military resources. Therefore it was desirable to permit the transfer of military equipment to our partner countries by sale "or other method." No doubt Mr. Truman genuinely believes that this program is "in every way consistent with the wording and spirit of the United Nations Charter," and that most Americans will think so too. Some cynical foreigners, however, are certainly going to regard it as just another example of power politics.

*

BY ITS DECISION TO WITHDRAW ALL FORCES from Egypt the British Labor government has made a well-considered break in the continuity of foreign policy —a break marked by vigorous but futile Tory opposition. The Tory thesis is that any treaty with Egypt must be made conditional on water-tight guaranties for the defense of the Suez Canal, by which they appear to mean the maintenance in the canal zone of a British garrison as provided by the treaty of 1936. Prime Minister Attlee, on the other hand, asserted that the promise of withdrawal was an essential preliminary to successful negotiations with the Egyptian Government. For sixty years Britain has been occupying Egypt "temporarily," and as Mr. Attlee pointed out, the growth of nationalist sentiment has made the presence of a foreign garrison increasingly irksome. Apart from its importance as a move to dissipate Egyptian suspicions that Britain intended to prolong its stay for another indefinite period, the British gesture might well be justified on the ground that it strengthens Britain's moral position in protesting against the occupation policies of other countries. In particular, as long as it maintains forces in the canal zone against the wishes of the Egyptian government, it is not well placed to oppose Russia's desire to maintain bases on Turkish soil from which to defend the Dardanelles. Another pertinent argument for withdrawal is the need for Britain to cut military commitments according to its man-power cloth. Its population of working age is too small to permit it both to maintain large garrisons all over the world and to carry out plans for reconstruction at home. Mr. Churchill and other opposition leaders who are continually taunting the Labor government about the slowness of demobilization and reconversion are completely illogical in demanding imperial and foreign policies which require the diversion of still more man-power from civilian employments.

*

IN VOTING $400,000,000 IN SUBSIDIES TO stimulate the veterans' housing program mapped out by Wilson Wyatt, the House of Representatives in a sensational reversal of an earlier vote has cleared the way for a speedy adoption of the Patman Housing bill. The earlier act of sabotage, it will be recalled, was one of the series of deadly hatchet jobs performed on the Administration's reconversion campaign by the Republican-Southern Democrat coalition. The unconscionable attack on the OPA and the standard of life of the American people was another. What has brought about this change of heart—if it is a change of heart? The most hopeful interpretation is that the Easter vacation gave many of the members a chance to have a little visit with the home folks. The flood of mail pouring into Washington on housing and OPA has indicated that the home folks have a lot they want to get off their chest. Perhaps the homing members have discovered that their beloved constituents are sharpening up their axes for other than Thanksgiving turkeys in November. If that be the case, then not only housing but OPA may benefit from some contrite and penitent hearts. In any event, the acceptance of subsidies, along with the previous action of the House conferees in backing the Senate proposal to guarantee a market for prefabricated houses and agreeing to the continuation of the government's priorities and allocation powers for the next twelve months, gives us a bill strong enough to provide a vigorous building program in the coming year.

*

AMONG THE BY-PRODUCTS OF THE ATOMIC bomb, Louis Ridenour pointed out in *The Nation* of March 2, was a tremendous boost for medical research. While learning how to blast Hiroshima into cosmic dust, atomic scientists also opened up new vistas for radiotherapy and radiography, but their findings were covered by the secrecy surrounding the bomb. "Most urgently needed steps," Ridenour wrote, "are the immediate clearance of all . . . medical and biological work and the distribution of artificial radio-elements to the proper agencies." Doctors, laboratories, hospitals, clinics, and the public—the ultimate beneficiary—are still waiting for that clearance. The lag is sharply pointed up in the May issue of *Popular Science,* which carries a detailed article on the benefits "atomic medicine" can produce. The army had provided as illustrations photographs of several non-secret protective devices used at Oak Ridge to prevent over-exposure to radiation. But General Leslie Groves stepped in and said no. The pictures were killed. The magazine replied with a stinging editorial that, dismissing censorship of the pictures as a minor foolishness, goes on to indict Groves's policy as the reason "why there are blank spaces in the record of medical research . . . why radio-iodine, for instance, goes smoking up the stacks of Manhattan Project plants while thyroid cancer patients cost $10,000 to treat." We concur with the editorial's charge that General Groves, in denying desperately needed medical benefits to the American people, "has convicted himself of a social stupidity that is outstanding even in a military man."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Pulitzer Prizes

EVEN editorship has its disquieting obligations—for instance, the printing of "Yes, Virginia, There Is a Santa Claus" at Christmas; and that melancholy day has come, the most unnecessary of the year, when every editor must tell his readers what to think of the Pulitzer Prize selections. Someone has said that the crowds in the street are always the same age; in this sense, the same people always win the Pulitzer Prize. There are always some obviously good and some imaginatively bad choices: you can never tell whether the committee has saved its gold star for Homer or for the little boy who used to lead the poet around.

"The Age of Jackson" was an excellent and inescapable choice in history. (Kant said that friendship is the moralist's hobby-horse—this year "The Age of Jackson" has been everybody's hobby-horse, and the nights have been hideous with the hurrahs of the Chowder, Marching, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., societies trudging by.) Hodding Carter's editorials on race relations particularly deserve their award, since they are written with perception and courage—and written, moreover, in the South itself, where their sentiments do not elicit that automatic and sometimes pharisaical approval with which they are received elsewhere. Argentine exposures, some excellent reporting of the war in the Pacific, and William L. Laurence's bright purple passages about the atomic bomb were safe choices, as was "State of the Union"; and approving of the Scranton *Times's* rousing, old-fashioned, fifteen-year campaign for "untainted justice" is as easy as approving of love. No one is likely to object to the choice of a biography of Edwin Muir, a book of that solid sort that is easily respected and hardly read; and the American composer honored this year is sheltered, like most of his kind, by that obscurity which has been called the privilege of young things. But only the congenitally blind and Bruce A. Russell are likely not to object to Mr. Russell's composite cartoon of a bad-tempered bear and snappish eagle—each tattooed, during a period of naval service, with its country's flag—which glare at each other over a gulf into which are settling two scraps of paper marked "Irresponsible Statements" and "Deepening Suspicions."

The committee has timidly shied away from selecting a prize novel—though it might have been encouraged by the reflection that it could not possibly do worse than it often has done in the past; and, for the first time, it has failed to award a prize for poetry. When one considers that Ransom's "Selected Poems" and Auden's "Collected Poems" were published in 1945, and when one remembers that the prize has in bygone years been awarded to a few of the most spectacularly bad poets who ever bought a rhyming dictionary, it is hard to resist the idea that the committee rates a booby prize of its own.

Sewny

The Big Four

Gloom in Paris

UP TO V-E DAY itself preoccupation with military victory in World War II was allowed to obscure the problems of the peace. Now, one year later, those same problems are just as obscured by an unconfessed preoccupation with World War III. To this painful interpretation the most temperate observers are being driven by the mounting succession of suspicions, failures, deadlocks, and recriminations that have marked the relations of the Soviet Union and its Western allies since peace descended on the world in the gentle flames of an atomic bomb. The Big Four conference of foreign ministers in Paris has bogged down badly and there is no shred of evidence to support the hope of Secretary Byrnes that where four powers failed in May twenty-one powers will succeed in June.

It was inevitable that the Paris conference should fail to produce peace treaties for Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland. Not one of these treaties can be considered apart from the pattern to be established for Europe as a whole, and that pattern revolves about the fate of Germany. Yet Germany, sixth on the conference agenda, is precisely the problem that neither the Russians nor the British are prepared to solve jointly and openly, because each has reservations concerning the other's real intentions for the future.

At Potsdam it was assumed that Germany's complete disarmament was a common objective of all the United

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nations, that its reduction at least to military impotence was a common denominator of Allied policy. This can no longer be taken for granted. There is too much evidence that both Britain and the Soviets are beginning to think of a resurgent Germany as a potential ally in a future struggle for Europe. Walter Lippmann, whose political philosophy centers about the indestructible unity of Britain and the United States and who therefore can scarcely be accused of Anglophobia, returns from Europe with the alarming comment that "there is . . . a German army, a large and good one, which surrendered to the British. . . . The story of what happened to that German army after the surrender is still hidden behind a silken curtain."

Mr. Lippman further hints darkly that the German officers captured at Stalingrad may still have their uses. He suggests that just as the British may be returning to the Chamberlain doctrine of turning a revived Germany against Russia, the Soviets, in turn, "are reverting toward the basic conception which produced the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of 1939: that Germany can be turned away from Russia against the West."

Lending at least a strong touch of color to Mr. Lippmann's thesis were the astonishing reactions to Secretary Byrnes's proposal for a twenty-five-year treaty under which Britain, the United States, the Soviet Union, and France would keep Germany disarmed. One would have thought that a Europe which has repeatedly and rightly accused us of having run out on all our obligations after World War I would rejoice at a commitment so sweeping and unprecedented. The British, on the contrary, were cool, although this may have been only because the sudden announcement was embarrassing to Foreign Minister Bevin, who, sworn to secrecy, had refrained from mentioning the proposal even to his Cabinet colleagues. The Russians, however, were furious, and made no effort to hide the fact. Tass, the official Soviet news agency, led off with a typically diplomatic suggestion that "sometimes new agreements for any more or less long period are proposed by those who are doing everything possible to break existing treaties." And Molotov told the conference that the future disarmament of Germany was of secondary importance compared with its present disarmament. If Mr. Lippmann's thesis is correct, this would be an understandable position for the Russians to take: disarm that German army now hidden behind the "silken curtain" of the British zone and make no commitment for the disarming of a Germany that in the years ahead might serve as an ally against the West.

Similarly, the debate over the Ruhr appears to be geared to future contingencies on the dark side. The French, alarmed over the resurgence of German power, regardless of its role, have consistently urged the detachment of the Ruhr valley from the rest of the Reich, along with the left bank of the Rhine. The British, eager to counter Russian guaranties of German integrity in return for future support, have opposed this dismemberment. The Americans, still clinging to the hope of a neutral Germany, militarily impotent but economically self-sustaining, have likewise favored German retention of the Ruhr, and the Byrnes disarmament plan has been viewed as a substitute assurance of safety to the French.

We fear that there is too much probability in the Lippmann thesis to put it lightly aside. But the situation is far from frozen. What we have witnessed since Potsdam is perhaps the greatest jockeying for power in the history of the world. The results so far may point to a "two-world" line-up, as many correspondents in Paris gloomily predict. But no nation today can want war and the kind of atomic destruction that rules out victory for either side. Given a measure of security, even the illusory security obtained by this cynical variety of diplomacy, the great powers may still be able to stop short of an irreparable break. There is no inevitability of a clash between Russia and the West, because there is still no fundamental reason for them to make war.

Famine Deadline

WITH tremendous food resources at our disposal we are permitting thousands of people all over the world to die of starvation. During April, while Europe and Asia slid toward the ultimate depth of famine, our food exports limped along at less than half of the extremely low quota set for the month. This month started off no better; unless drastic steps are taken we shall again fall short in May and June—the months in which the famine will reach its most critical stage.

Why have we failed? The American people are not gluttons. They have accepted with a minimum of complaint the inconveniences visited on them by food-conservation orders. But they have complacently imagined that the government is doing all it can and that supplying a million tons of food a month during May and June will enable the hungry millions abroad to pull through.

Unfortunately neither of these assumptions squares with the facts. The government's food-conservation efforts have been timid, weak, and confused. Steps taken during the past month should have been taken in November, when the present crisis was clearly foreseen. And as a result we have run up an immense deficit in relief shipments since the beginning of the year—nearly 900,000 tons in wheat alone. A staggering increase must be achieved during the next six weeks if mass starvation is to be averted. We are almost at the deadline.

To do in six weeks what should have been done over a period of six months is a tough assignment, but there is a way of handling it. A group headed by Herbert Lehman, former UNRRA director, and Clarence Pickett, of the American Friends Service Committee, has placed before President Truman a realistic program designed to meet

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the immediate emergency. The sponsors include some of the most prominent figures in America, and the plan is the work of two of the country's leading agricultural economists—John Black of Harvard and Theodore Schultz of the University of Chicago. It calls for the doubling of export quotas for the period between April 1 and June 30—wheat exports, for instance, would be upped from 125,000,000 bushels to 250,000,000. Shipments of fats and oils would be doubled through an expanded hog-slaughtering program. Dairy exports would be trebled, and rice commitments would be met by repurchasing stocks already in distribution channels.

This program can do the trick, but it can only be carried out by the most vigorous action. It calls for additional belt-tightening by Americans but for no real sacrifice on their part. We must, to be sure, cut down far more than we have our consumption of wheat, rice, and fats. We shall have to eliminate items like cake and pastry from our diet for six weeks, and use the abundance of substitutes available in place of wheat products. The bulk of the increase, however, must be gained by reducing the estimated wheat carry-over from 84,000,000 to 8,000,000 bushels and by diverting a third of the wheat used for feeding livestock. This reduction in livestock feed, plus a stepped-up slaughtering of cattle, hogs,

and poultry, is particularly urgent because it was through animal feeding, not gluttony, that America wasted its bumper harvest of 1945. In the first nine months of the crop season we turned three times as much wheat into livestock feed as in pre-war years. But grain eaten directly will sustain from seven to eight times as many human lives as the same amount of grain consumed in the form of meat.

Surely the President must be moved by the appeal of Mr. Lehman's committee. We sincerely hope he will translate its proposals into action. The crisis is so grave and the time so short that unprecedented efforts to fulfil our obligations must be made by every American, from the Chief Executive to the humblest citizen.

Line-up on the British Loan

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, May 12

IT IS a pity the loan to Britain cannot be made with magnanimous promptness. Thanks to the effective leadership of Senator Barkley, the measure passed the Senate, but only after four weeks of petty and hurtful debate. It is probable though by no means certain that it will pass the House. There are reports that both Jesse Jones and Bernard Baruch will testify against the loan, and there is sure to be more discussion of a kind that will make painful listening on the other side of the Atlantic.

Some conclusions can be drawn from the vote in the Senate. It testifies to the stubborn survival of isolationist thinking and to the fact that this is still a geographical phenomenon. It is interesting to note that on the eastern seaboard north of Maryland there were only three votes against the loan—Brewster of Maine, Hawkes of New Jersey, and Walsh of Massachusetts. In this part of the country the loan had the overwhelming support not only of both parties but of both the right and the left.

The bill did not do so well in the South, which is traditionally more international-minded than any other part of the country except the Northeast. Tydings of Maryland, Byrd of Virginia, Johnston of South Carolina, Russell of Georgia, Ellender of Louisiana, O'Daniel of Texas, McClellan of Arkansas, and Thomas of Oklahoma voted against it. Bilbo of Mississippi and Bailey of North Carolina were paired against it. Alabama and Florida were the only two Southern states in which both Senators were for the loan.

Of fifteen Democratic votes against the bill, eight were from Southern or border states. Of the seventeen Republican votes for it, nine were from the eastern seaboard. Six Midwestern Republicans voted for the loan —Ball of Minnesota, Donnell of Missouri, Gurney of South Dakota, Hickenlooper of Iowa, Reed of Kansas, and Wiley of Wisconsin. But the bulk of the opposition came from the Republican and isolationist Midwest; the Republicans in the Senate voted eighteen to seventeen against the bill. Except for the isolationist La Follette, the progressives of both parties in the Senate were for the loan.

The coalition against the loan ranged from Bilbo to Taft, and if the same forces go into action in the House the measure may have a difficult time. One of those

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who deserve credit for its passage in the Senate is Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton. This Southern cotton merchant has been doing an excellent job in the State Department, and is making a record that rebuts the fears and criticism voiced by many left-of-center commentators, including this writer, at the time of his appointment. It is to Mr. Clayton's credit that he argued for the loan in terms of its importance to freedom of trade the world over and scrupulously refrained from a rather sinister political argument urged upon him by certain rightist groups—that we ought to make the loan because Britain is an ally against the Soviet Union.

But in the House Mr. Clayton will find himself pitted against his old friend and associate Jesse Jones, who has greater influence and equal shrewdness, if less intellectual capacity. It is not at all impossible that the same combination of isolationists and Southern reactionaries may succeed in passing some of the amendments defeated in the Senate. Although the Senate debate can hardly be said to have constituted any thorough exposition of the issues involved, it did serve to air some of the grievances and crotchets of the opposition. The Southern Senators seem to have been most aroused by fear that the British Labor government may permanently end speculative trading in cotton. Taft of Ohio seemed to be most worried lest the 2 per cent interest help to peg interest rates generally at a low level during the post-war period: that is why he preferred to see the United States make a gift instead of a loan. It may appropriately be noted at this point that the prospects in the House will be improved if negotiations are opened for American commercial use of American-built air bases on British territory.

The fact that the elections are coming closer is more likely to hurt than to help the British loan in the House. It is always easier for a candidate to do some tub-thumping about the money he has kept from avaricious foreigners than to explain why it is enlightened self-interest, etc., for America to lend money to Britain and other devastated countries. And the mood of Congress will not be improved by the need to make it pass the $600,000,000 appropriation we still owe UNRRA and to add another billion and a half or so to the lending power of the Export-Import Bank.

In the meantime too little, if any, attention is being paid to another aspect of this foreign lending problem. Dollar credits mean nothing to countries in need unless they can be translated into materials, foodstuffs, machinery for reconstruction and development. But our failure on the food front is only a spectacular example of similar failures in every field of necessary exports. We badly need a set-up like a temporary kind of War Production Board to speed the output of items needed for export, break bottlenecks, and apply some system of priorities for shipments at home and abroad.

Is France Swinging to the Right?

BY GEORGE SLOCOMBE

English author, journalist, and war correspondent. Mr. Slocombe has made his home in Paris for many years and is known as an expert on French politics. His dispatches are frequently featured in the New York Herald Tribune

Paris, May 9

IT IS not easy to explain the results of the referendum of May 5. Although the parties of the right had their share in the defeat of the constitution recommended to the nation by a three-fifths majority of the Constituent Assembly, that defeat cannot accurately be described as a victory for the right. André Siegfried writes in the conservative newspaper *Figaro* that "France remains as before a country of the left, and it was an authentic left which determined the result of May 5." If we accept this dictum, the paradox becomes bewildering enough, but no more bewildering than many other paradoxes in French politics under both the Third Republic and the Fourth.

In the elections of last October a clear majority of the nation committed itself to some sort of socialist state. That majority was not created by hazard or the capricious functioning of the electoral system. It was a definite political phenomenon, the latest stage in the historical evolution of the left parties in France, whose rise in popular favor and influence has been continuous since the victory of the *Bloc des Gauches* in 1924. Yet in the latest national consultation on May 5 an equally clear, if smaller, majority of the nation has rejected a constitution drafted and enthusiastically recommended by the same Socialist and Communist parties which obtained a majority of the votes cast in October. There is no doubt that the right went to the polls in greater numbers last Sunday than at any other time since the liberation, but the rise in the votes cast on the right was not great enough to determine the rejection of the constitution. The most significant fact about this rejection is that in almost every traditional Socialist or Communist stronghold in the country the majority of electors voted no.

The active propaganda of the banks and big business organizations against the constitution had its share in the defeat, as did also the more discreet influence of the church. But the decisive factor was the uneasiness en-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

gendered by the prospect of a single legislative assembly, without democratic checks or safeguards, dominating the President of the Republic, the Premier, and the judiciary. It is perhaps worth recalling that France's last experience of a national assembly was the joint meeting of Deputies and Senators convoked at Vichy in June, 1940, for the purpose of granting dictatorial powers to Marshal Henri Philippe Pétain. Nothing in the constitution offered to the nation on May 5 would have prevented a future assembly of Deputies alone from making a similar grant of sovereign powers to the leader of a majority party. This possibility clearly scared the nation, and its uneasiness was not lessened by the new electoral law submitted to its approval, under which the old direct relationship between electors and elected was abolished and candidates were chosen by party headquarters and had to be swallowed en bloc. Since this electoral law shared the fate of the constitution, the elections to the new Constituent Assembly, which are to be held on June 2, will take place under the less objectionable form of proportional representation which governed last October's elections.

How the constitution will be amended to meet with national approval is not yet clear. The powers of the President of the Republic will probably be increased, and he will no longer be elected by a single Assembly as under the rejected constitution. But did the majority which voted down the constitution with its single-chamber legislature intend the revival of the Senate with all the reactionary features which made it a stronghold of conservatism during the Third Republic? Members of the old Senate were elected by indirect suffrage and for a period of nine years. Each department of France elected two Senators irrespective of its size or population, and inevitably a second chamber thus chosen gave far greater representation to the rural communities than to the industrial. The old Senate was heavily weighted against social and economic progress, and on many occasions between the two world wars it provoked the defeat of too radical ministries. Both Socialist and Communist parties are pledged to the abolition of the second chamber in its old form, as a reactionary instrument, and if a second chamber is restored in the amended constitution, it will be shorn of many of its powers and prerogatives.

The French nation is probably less concerned about its constitution, however, than about its future. It has committed itself to certain experiments in socialism and even to a permanent orientation toward a socialist democracy, but it has no liking for single-party rule. The Socialist-Communist coalition which would have governed France if the constitution, and with it the new electoral law, had been accepted would have too closely resembled a single party to please a nation of individualists. For sooner or later the Socialist partners in the coalition would have been obscured and overshadowed by the more ruthless, more disciplined Communists.

The Socialist Party has now realized the danger of this predicament and is manifestly trying to disentangle itself from its temporary alliance with the Communists. The Manifesto of the Socialist executive, issued after the referendum, appeals for unity among all republicans and is clearly directed, on the one hand, at the Radicals, with whom the Socialists share a common policy on secular education, and, on the other, at the Christian Democrats of Georges Bidault's M. R. P., with whom the Socialists more or less agree on economic policies. Such a coalition would exclude both the Communists on the extreme left and the recently formed Party of Republican Liberty on the extreme right. The Socialists would be the center and the focal force of the coalition and would demand the principal places in the government if such a coalition, as seems almost inevitable, should emerge victorious from the June 2 elections. The return of Léon Blum to Paris is awaited with eagerness since he has long counseled a breaking away from the connection with the Communists, the dangers of which have been so patently revealed by the results of the referendum on the constitution.

President Gouin

If the Socialist Party is to take power in France either alone or in coalition, it must do so as the champion of liberty. It was that magical word with which the right parties last Sunday successfully wooed so many voters from their normal allegiance to the left, and the leaders of the Socialist Party seem to have realized this. The totalitarian state offers little attraction as such even to the disciplined masses of the French Communists, and in their post-referendum manifestos the Communist Party leaders also fall back on old-fashioned words like liberty and democracy.

In the elections on June 2 both Socialists and Communists may not only regain but even improve their position in the Assembly. Electing Deputies to an Assembly which, if for only seven months, will enjoy considerable legislative powers on questions vitally affecting every voter is a very different matter from saying yes or no in a referendum on a thing so complicated and so little understood as a constitution. On June 2, therefore, the electors who strayed like wilful sheep from the path

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

indicated by their party shepherds will probably return to it with alacrity. If this prediction is fulfilled, the new Constituent Assembly will have a larger Communist and Socialist representation than the last, but the balance of power will be shifted slightly to the right. In any but the most doubtful contingency of an outright Communist majority, which would give Maurice Thorez the leadership of the government and make him temporary chief of state, the Socialists and their future allies will dominate the scene.

Real Estate Goes to College

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

A contributing editor of The Nation, *whose latest book is "Southern California Country: Island on the Land"*

St. Louis, May 7

AN ISSUE currently shaping up in St. Louis is likely to establish precedents of great importance in the seemingly unrelated fields of race relations and taxation. Granted a charter by the Missouri legislature in 1857, Washington University has long claimed tax exemption as an institution providing educational opportunities for "the youth of Missouri"; its claim was finally upheld by the United States Supreme Court in the case of Washington University versus Rowse. At one time the university freely admitted Negroes to all its schools and departments, but since about 1900 it has accepted no Negroes as students. Being a private institution, it could, if it chose, revert to its former policy. In a legal opinion dated April 30, 1936, Dr. M. B. Clopton, then president of the board, was advised that the question of whether Negroes should be admitted depended on "what action the university as a moral and intellectual leader" wanted to take. This question, in the words of counsel, was "in reality one of statesmanship and not of law."

The Jim Crow policy of Washington University is of exceptional interest because the university has served for some years as a holding company for heavily mortgaged but valuable properties in St. Louis. During the depression a large number of banks and financial institutions sought to acquire tax-exempt status for real estate on which they held mortgages and trust deeds as the one hope of salvaging their investments. They therefore arranged, in literally dozens of cases, for the mortgagor to deed the mortgaged property, for a nominal consideration, to Washington University. With title vested in the university, the property of course became tax-exempt.

The Patriot Realty Company, for example, deeded to Washington University a building which was used by the International Shoe Company for its main offices in St. Louis. The property was assessed at $345,000 when the transfer was made and was subject to a mortgage of approximately the same amount. Since taking over the property, Washington University has been collecting rent from the shoe company and paying off the principal and interest on the mortgage. The use of the building by the International Shoe Company was not interrupted by the transfer. Similarly the St. Louis Terminal Cupples Station Property Company deeded to Washington University, for a consideration of $5, property mortgaged for $3,000,000. Here also the university has been collecting the rents and applying them to the payment of principal and interest.

So many pieces of property have thus been made tax-exempt that in an answer filed to a case now pending in the Circuit Court of Missouri (Washington University *vs.* Gruner, No. 86852) the city attorney has charged that the financial stability of the city will be threatened if the practice continues. The same answer contains the statement that Washington University has not been actually receiving the benefits of ownership in any of these transactions but has been using the income from the properties to pay off principal and interest on loans —that is, it has been bailing out the holders of the investments. Ultimately—in some cases thirty, forty, or fifty years hence—the university may have clear title to the properties; in the meantime the income from them is being used for a purpose entirely unrelated to the education of "the youth of Missouri." I was unable to obtain an estimate of how much revenue the city was losing through this clever reintroduction of mortmain in American law, but it must be a handsome sum.

Such abuse of the tax-exemption principle appears all the more heinous in the light of the university's Jim Crow policy. St. Louis had a pre-war Negro population of more than 135,000, 12 per cent of its total population. While Negroes are now admitted to St. Louis University, they are excluded from the University of Missouri. Since they are excluded from Washington University also, many able and often brilliant Negro students, graduates of St. Louis schools, are compelled to complete their education outside the state. Tax exemption is tantamount to a grant of public funds. The 135,000 Negroes of St. Louis are therefore contributing to the support of an institution from which they can derive no benefit.

The question of when a private corporation becomes a public or quasi-public corporation by reason of its tax-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

exempt status will be decided in the pending case of Washington University versus Gruner, which will probably reach the United States Supreme Court. The St. Louis chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, through its able president, David Grant, has intervened in the action and has squarely raised the Jim Crow issue. The case will probably bring out also how much property, in our large urban areas, has been effectively removed from the taxing power by the misuse of tax exemption. Nearly every American city today is finding it difficult to raise new revenues for sorely needed projects, and the explanation may lie in part in the abuse of the tax-exemption principle. Certainly institutions enjoying tax exemption on such a scale as in St. Louis should not complain if the state attempts to regulate their activities at least to the extent of compelling them to adopt a non-discriminatory policy.

In view of the emphasis placed on science at Washington University, the racial discrimination practiced seems a strange educational anachronism. I doubt that the distinguished chancellor of the university, Dr. Arthur Compton, would want to undertake, as a scientist, a defense of this policy. Curiously enough, it was not until after the university began to receive substantial endowments that it abandoned its earlier policy of admitting Negroes. Can it be that some of the donors made the university's adoption of a Jim Crow policy a condition of their gifts? The trial of the pending case should throw considerable light on American educational practices.

The Balance Sheet of War

BY JACQUES GASCUEL

A French journalist specializing in economics; technical counselor to the French delegation at the San Francisco conference

Paris, May 1

AS SOON as the last of the Nazi invaders were gone—and it was not until the beginning of May, 1945, that the units holed up in the Atlantic ports surrendered—France set about drawing up a balance sheet for the five and a half years of war and occupation. At first glance the losses seemed less than had been expected. Under the shattered roofs of bombed factories most of the machinery was still intact. The enemy had removed a great deal of equipment, but much was left. In some parts of the country productive capacity seemed little reduced; coal mines, iron and steel works, power plants were practically unharmed. If manufacturers could obtain some new equipment and make the most urgent repairs, assembly belts could start moving again.

But more serious damage was soon uncovered. During the war of 1914-18 France had lost 1,400,000 men who were never replaced. In the period from 1939 to 1945 it lost about the same number. A country of 40,000,000 inhabitants cannot but feel the effect of being deprived of almost 3,000,000 workers. There was also great destruction of capital. Two million of ten million buildings were damaged. More than half the rolling stock of the railroads and almost all the barges and cargo vessels had disappeared. These losses were estimated at more than $13 billion. In addition, the Germans had collected more than $9 billion in levies and drained off stockpiles worth $2 billion. Finally, the machinery which remained was worn out. It had been operated at full blast and had not been properly cared for; indeed, no repairs had been made. A study showed that $4½ billion would have been needed for upkeep; actually no money had been spent for that purpose. The total loss of capital was approximately $28 billion, more than twice the national revenue in 1938; the equivalent for the United States would be $120 billion.

At the moment of liberation the French did not quite grasp the situation. They knew that they had suffered tremendous losses, but in the enthusiasm of freedom regained they thought that industry would get quickly on its feet and that once they started to work things would be all right again.

Government finances were in not too bad shape. True, the public debt had almost quadrupled and was now $47 billion, and the amount of money in circulation had increased almost as much; but the rise in real prices had absorbed the excess paper money and lessened the inflationary threat. It was hoped that the budget deficit, which with production reduced to 25 per cent of the 1938 level had reached $75 million, would shrink as soon as factories began to operate on the pre-war scale. The revival of production, together with the increased tax revenues resulting from the higher rates, would make possible, it was thought, an annual expenditure of some $12 billion, of which less than half would have to be obtained by borrowing.

Obviously France had to "prime the pump"—import foodstuffs, manufactured goods, and raw materials to feed, clothe, and shelter the population and reequip the factories. But there was believed to be enough money to pay for that. France was still rich. The vaults of the bank of issue held 1,777 tons of gold, and with credits and individual holdings abroad the nation had at its disposal between $5 billion and $6 billion.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRODUCTION RISES BUT NOT HIGH ENOUGH

The French set to work. In one year—October, 1944, to October, 1945—coal production rose from 1,000,000 tons a month to nearly 4,000,000 tons, the pre-war level. In no other country in the world has such a recovery been achieved. With the aid of the Allies, particularly of the Americans, communications were repaired; the 18,000 kilometers of railroad still usable became 45,000 kilometers—as much as before the war. The capacity of the ports doubled, reaching 30,000,000 tons a month as compared with 45,000,000 tons in 1938. Millions of mines laid by the enemy were removed so that fields could be cultivated again; more than half the partially damaged buildings were made habitable.

In the factories production was resumed gradually at first, then at a steeply rising rate. In wool and cotton, for example, average monthly production, including rayons and other yarns, went from 2,222 tons for the first quarter of 1945 to 6,554 tons in June and 15,866 tons in October. Similar gains were registered for rubber, steel and finished steel products, cast iron, cement, paper, hides and prepared leathers, building materials, chemical products. By last October the average level of industrial production had climbed to 50 or 60 per cent of the 1938 figure.

Then suddenly the pace slackened. Around October 10 production graphs registered a drop; by the middle of November they had leveled off. The production peak had been passed.

In September a similar trend became apparent in banking. Deposits were increased, but the volume of notes for discount decreased. Unable to invest their funds, clients were letting them lie idle; commercial transactions dropped off.

At first people thought the slow-down was temporary. When it persisted, they attributed it to some psychological condition. Government posters depicting a worker standing before an almost finished piece of work carried the appeal, "Things are already better. Roll up your sleeves and they'll be better still." But the lag continued and was accentuated. Production inspectors were sent into every industrial area. Everywhere they were given the same excuse—lack of coal, lack of electric and water power, worn-out or antiquated machinery.

By various expedients, such as long-term borrowing and the exchange of bank notes, the Treasury had been able to avoid the necessity of printing new money; indeed, the amount of paper money in circulation had actually decreased since liberation. But an end to expedients had been reached. Unless production at least equal to that of 1938 could be attained, revenues would not be sufficient to permit an annual expenditure of $12 billion ($5 billion at the new rate of exchange).

Drastic measures were necessary. The Gouin government, which succeeded De Gaulle's last January, undertook to enact them. Expenditures were reduced one-fifth, largely by cutting military appropriations. Various taxes were boosted, and the period for payment of the solidarity tax imposed after the liberation was cut in half. In the end, the probable deficit for the fiscal year was fixed at about $1.25 billion for a budget of $4.16 billion.

But these steps were not enough. It was absolutely necessary to raise industrial output above its present 60 per cent level, and for that a detailed estimate of coal and tool shortages and a general plan of reconstruction and modernization were needed. At this point the government created a Planning Commission headed by Jean Monnet. The commission wished to maintain a close liaison with all the productive forces of the country and therefore organized for every branch of industry committees on which were represented producers and consumers, management and labor, experts and administrators. These committees laid the groundwork for what might be called the French five-year plan, a program for economic recovery to be carried out by 1950.

PLANTS MUST BE MODERNIZED

The first task was to figure out the necessary expenditures. Destruction was estimated at $28 billion, but the plan did not call for restoring everything just as it had been. The Planning Commission finally decided that 30 to 40 per cent of the total damage should be written off. It discovered, however, that more modernization was required than had been anticipated eighteen months earlier. When the French industrialists emerged from their five years of isolation and were able to compare their facilities with those of other countries, many of them realized that their task was not simply to bring back the conditions of 1938 but to renovate their factories from top to bottom. Their equipment was almost a quarter of a century behind the times.

As a matter of fact, from an industrial point of view, France was slipping behind in 1938. Though the world had known twenty years of peace, it had been for France a false peace. Physically France had borne the brunt of the First World War and had been obliged to rebuild more than two-thirds of the devastated regions. Reconstruction was not completed until 1928. After 1930, as the menace of Germany became increasingly clear, France began to worry about another conflict; it

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

therefore restored the two-year period of military training, built fortifications, and spent large sums for armaments. France's military expenditures in the period between the two wars amounted to $7 billion, a slightly smaller proportion of the national revenue than the sum spent by the United States for industrial equipment in the same period. The liquidation of World War I and the preparations for World War II took the funds which might have been used for new machinery.

The Planning Commission has figured the cost of modernization at $14 billion. Added to reconstruction, it brings the minimum necessary expenditure to $30 billion. Where will the money come from?

With production at the 1938 level, France would have a national income of $12.3 billion, of which only $570 million could be used for investment in new plant. Under such conditions economic recovery would take half a century. It was plain, therefore, that industrial production must be raised to much greater heights. Even if it reached the level of 1929, a year of record prosperity, when the national income was $18 billion, twenty years would be needed. France must therefore surpass its 1929 production. This need not be thought impossible; in Great Britain and the United States productive capacity is now far above the 1929 level. If today France could produce 25 per cent more than in 1929—not a difficult task with modernized equipment—its national revenue would rise to $22 billion, and from $4 billion to $5 billion could be used annually for the amortization and maintenance of new machinery. Thus modernization would be financed within a reasonable period.

The 1929 production level plus 25 per cent means an output of 60,000,000 tons of coal, 15,000,000 tons of steel, and 25,000,000,000 kilowatt-hours of energy a year. Under the commission's plan France ought to be able to achieve that goal in five years.

RUHR COAL NECESSARY

Of course modernization alone will not solve the problem. Machinery must have power to operate. And France, whose soil is so rich in other respects, is poor in coal and has few waterfalls that can be harnessed. Making the maximum use of its natural resources, France could probably never exceed the production of coal and kilowatt energy envisaged by the commission for 1950. In terms of tons of coal per year per inhabitant, the plan calls for not quite two, as compared with the eight tons produced in the United States and the five in England. Clearly France must import fuel.

In 1929 coal purchases abroad amounted to more than 30,000,000 tons. In 1938 they were still as high as 21,000,000 tons. Today they are only 10,000,000 tons. Here is the explanation for the lag in production.

Before the war France bought coal in Britain, Germany, Belgium, Holland, and Poland. Today the British coal mines are in bad shape; whereas formerly the United Kingdom furnished France 550,000 tons a month, today it furnishes barely 100,000 tons. Belgium and Holland have become coal importers. With European transportation disrupted, Poland is too far away. The United States, now the major source of supply for France, is sending 500,000 tons a month. The rest comes from Germany. France is grateful to America for these coal shipments and hopes they will continue at least until the end of 1946. But importing coal from across the Atlantic does not make economic sense—American coal costs $21 a ton on arrival while European coal costs only $13. The way out of this difficulty is to obtain more coal from Germany, from the Ruhr.

Before the war the Ruhr produced 127,000,000 tons of coal a year. Today it is mining 3,000,000 to 4,000,000 tons a month, of which France receives about 350,000 tons. The Saar basin is closer to the French frontier but is a relatively small coal field. It has never produced more than 12,000,000 or 13,000,000 tons a year and must meet the requirements of its own highly developed industry. Besides, Saar coal cannot be converted into coke, and without coke you cannot make steel. No more than 100,000 tons of coal a month can be expected from the Saar. The Ruhr basin, however, can supply France's needs, replacing the more expensive American coal and the supplies formerly obtained from England. One million tons a month is required beginning in July and 20,000,000 tons a year later; 20,000,000 tons is barely 15 per cent of the normal annual output for the Ruhr basin.

CREDIT FROM THE UNITED STATES

If $30 billion, spread over five years, is invested to reconstruct and modernize the country, French production can undoubtedly attain an annual value of $22 billion by 1950—provided of course that the needed coal is obtained. This will permit prompt payment of the costs of reconstruction and modernization. There remains, however, a rather delicate problem. France is not in a position to supply the whole $30 billion. It will, of course, use all its remaining gold and foreign currency and liquidate its foreign holdings. It will receive reparations in kind from Germany, capital in the form of machinery. It will export an appreciable amount of merchandise. But to carry out its five-year plan it will still need about $4 billion worth of machinery, raw materials, and manufactured goods, which can only come from the United States.

Plainly France must have credits for its economic and political rehabilitation. And it is equally clear that the day will come when the United States will need customers. The French empire—now the French Union—or franc zone, with its 100,000,000 inhabitants, is one of the best customers of the United States. In 1937 it stood fifth among the nations of the world in produc-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion, fourth in imports and exports. The only nations ahead of it were the United States, the British Empire, Germany, and the Soviet Union. Below it were Japan and the Low Countries, with corresponding figures barely half those of the franc zone. Yesterday the franc zone was the world's greatest producer of bauxite; it stood second in the production of phosphate and potash, and third in iron output. Because of France's geographical position and the multilateral character of its commercial relations, its recovery has a direct bearing on that of many other countries, not only in Western Europe, where customers are to be found, but overseas, where the suppliers are.

France is one of the most industrious countries of the world. The annual report of the International Labor Organization for 1930-31 showed that 52 per cent of the French population was engaged in work, against 47 per cent in Great Britain and 37 per cent in the United States. France also had the largest proportion of artisans and small tradesmen—41 per cent of the population against 22 per cent in the United States.

France has made its choice between autarchic, totalitarian methods and free exchange. It wants to enter again as quickly as possible into the current of world trade. It has reestablished economic freedom at home, notably by measures taken against the domestic cartels, which have not always been clearly understood abroad. It asks only to attach itself in every way to the great Western democracies. But it cannot do that effectively without time to catch its breath.

The Nazis' Biological Warfare

BY MARTIN GUMPERT

A New York physician, author of "You Are Younger Than You Think" and "Hahnemann, the Adventurous Career of a Medical Rebel"

A LETTER from Amsterdam, brought to my attention, bears testimony to the gruesome atmosphere in which so many human beings have had to live in the past decade. Its mixture of madness, science, orderliness, and obscenity is characteristic of the special blend of poison with which Nazism infected mankind. One would like to read it as a fragment from a dark primeval age. But the events it described happened very recently.

> For the first time the de-sterilization of a man has taken place. He was sterilized under the Nazi regime because he was a Jew married to an Aryan woman. For such cases the Nazis applied special rules which underwent several changes. In the beginning the Jewish partners of mixed marriages had to wear the yellow star. Later many of them were sent to the Westerbork concentration camp, and thence deported.
>
> Dr. Meyer, an S. S. staff welfare doctor, made these Jewish partners of mixed marriages his biological hobby. He announced that if a Jew married to a Gentile would agree to be sterilized, he, or she, need no longer wear the Jewish star, and his capital, confiscated as Jewish, would be given back to him. At a meeting of the inmates of Westerbork camp, two men who had been sterilized praised the advantages of the operation—probably referring to its rejuvenating effect. Many Jews with non-Jewish wives felt that compliance might save them from deportation and therefore signed a request for sterilization.
>
> Dr. Meyer had announced further that if Professor Rögholt would certify the infertility of one of the partners in a mixed marriage, an operation would not be required. Professor Rögholt had accepted his professorship from the Nazis and was much criticized for this, but he used his position to help many people by falsely certifying them as sterile. I know of one man eighty years old who was obliged to procure such a certificate. Women were not compelled to submit to the operation after the age of forty-five. To their credit, Dutch physicians refused unanimously to perform the operation.
>
> Professor Salomon, the former chief physician of the Jewish Hospital in Berlin, who was a prisoner in Westerbork, was finally ordered to act as sterilization surgeon. He insisted on taking his wife, the well-known singer Paula Lindberg, to the Amsterdam hospital with him, saying that he needed her as a nurse. Having received permission for the trip, Professor Salomon and his wife seized the opportunity to escape and disappear. Finally a seventy-five-year-old Viennese physician, Dr. Lichtenstein, agreed to act as surgeon. He was supervised by an S. S. man named König, a former sculptor with some knowledge of physiology. Though he posed as a male nurse, his real job was to make sure that the seminal duct was actually cut. In addition to this operation, injections were given to effect a shrinking of the testicles.
>
> The operations were performed in the Portuguese-Israelite Hospital in Amsterdam. In all, five hundred Jewish men married to non-Jewish women were sterilized. Afterward they were permitted to work and to go without the yellow star.
>
> The Nazi attitude toward persons married to Jews was completely inconsistent: some were discharged from Westerbork, others deported.
>
> Eugen B—, born in 1906, owner of a big laundry in Arnheim, born a Jew, baptized a Catholic, married to a Catholic woman, father of three sons, was notified

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that his factory would be confiscated and he would be deported unless he agreed to be sterilized. He therefore "volunteered" for the operation. The sterilization, in his case, was followed by severe depression and inferiority feelings; so he decided in November, 1945, to undergo a new operation to obtain—if possible—restoration of his sexual functions. This is, I believe, the first case of de-sterilization ever undertaken.

Of course, we have long known about Nazi methods of biological warfare, among which sterilization was one of the favored weapons. But there is a difference between knowing of their existence and hearing the actual details. This sober report, which goes on to explain the surgical methods of de-sterilization, shows more clearly than it could be imagined the miasma of torture and perversion in which Nazi-dominated Europe lived.

By the way, the letter-writer is mistaken in thinking that de-sterilization had never been attempted before. Such operations, when made necessary by an injury, have been performed and described in this country for many years but have rarely been successful. The last surgeon to report a new method was Lieutenant Commander Charles S. Cameron in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* for April 25, 1945.

[*Dr. Gumpert writes a monthly column on new developments in medicine and related fields.*]

Elections Every Sunday

BY DONALD DOWNES

Correspondent for The Nation *and the Overseas News Agency in Italy*

Rome, May 3

THE Italians and the Allies are still breaking eggs in Italy, but no one has succeeded in making an omelette. Elections have been held every Sunday for eight weeks and will continue into June. Because of the many inter-party alliances and consequent overlapping electoral lists, and the curious Italian electoral system, the results are difficult to interpret.

In these so-called "administrative" elections each party nominates a somewhat larger number of candidates than the number of members of the legislative body, plus the executive officers, of the commune. Names frequently appear on more than one list; in fact, the lists of the Socialists and Communists and of the Liberals and L'Uomo Qualunque are usually identical. No one is nominated for a specific office. The men elected apportion the various posts among themselves about a week after the balloting. The strange cloakroom alliances formed in this period often reverse the apparent results of the election.

The results have made one thing very clear. The parish priests have done a bang-up electioneering job despite Article 66 of the electoral laws, which forbids them any active political role, They were encouraged in this by the Pope's first Lenten sermon, in which he quite openly defied Article 66 and said that the "church could not tolerate being confined in a temple." So far the Christian Democrats have obtained a majority in as many communes as have been won by all the center and leftist parties combined, and have received about 40 per cent of the votes cast. If they form some kind of working arrangement with the other, smaller rightist groups, Italy may emerge from the proceedings of the Constitutional Assembly with a one-party government of the Vatican's choosing. The left, encouraged by the Socialist victory in Milan, is still hoping that returns from the big cities which have not yet voted will strengthen its position. But the biggest of these is Rome, which has practically no industrial working class and is close under the eye and influence of the Vatican.

So strong has been the pulpit's propaganda for the party which "in its name carries the holy title of the Redeemer" and uses the "sacred cross of the Savior" as its symbol that other parties are leaning on the evident strength of a religious symbol. The Liberals in Milan took the "Little Madonna," the city's patron saint, as theirs and under her image whooped it up for a slate of candidates nominated in common with L'Uomo Qualunque, whose fat and jolly *duce,* Guglielmo Giannini, is noted for his obscenity and profanity. A small party in the province of Salerno changed its name to Catholic Democrats and adopted as its symbol the Sacred Heart, pierced and dripping blood.

The big events in the long election process will be the referendum on the question of monarchy or republic and the election of delegates to the Constitutional Assembly, both of which will take place June 2. The monarchists are campaigning, as the left feared they would, with the slogan: "Russia is a republic; hence a republic means communism." This may work against candidates who are pledged to a republic. It may also count heavily in the final decision of Alcide de Gasperi and his Christian Democrats as to whether they are monarchists or republicans. Despite the house of Savoy's traditional enmity for the Vatican, they are inclined to favor the monarchy as a bulwark against the church's chief enemy, communism. Up to now they have carried water on both shoulders without spilling a drop, but they must make a decision before June 2.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Italy, however, is not all politics. The Italian spring is here with its riot of flowers and its balmy afternoons. Houses and offices are no longer cold and damp, and public attention has turned from the lack of heat to the scarcity of food. In the past six weeks I have driven nearly four thousand miles through Italy, and except for the hoarding peasants and persons who can afford black-market prices—the rich probably eat better in Italy than anywhere else in Europe—everybody is hungry. Full shops in the cities mean nothing. Shopkeepers refuse to sell on the food tickets. In Gragnano, once famous for its spaghetti, that staple costs 135 lire a pound, more than the average workman makes in a day. Oil sells at 220 lire a pound. Italians were grateful for LaGuardia's violent attack on Robert Conway's "Europe isn't hungry" article in the New York *Daily News;* they called it "the first really American reaction from a high official of your country since the armistice of 1943."

Much of the responsibility for the high prices and bad distribution rests with the weak Italian government. When election day lasts four months, it is hard to make politicians concentrate on such matters as food and price-control laws. UNRRA is partly responsible, for it has apparently failed to use the utmost possible pressure to get the government to act. Harlan Cleveland, head of the economic section of UNRRA, in a conversation with this writer casually confirmed the fact that 100,000 tons of textiles, 100,000 tons of phosphates, and nearly 50,000 tons of medicines, all of Italian make, are being hoarded by manufacturers and speculators in the north. Probably 100,000 tons of textiles is enough to make two complete outfits for every man, woman, and child in Italy. A suggestion that these materials be requisitioned by the government and distributed in the same manner and under the same price control as UNRRA goods was looked upon by Mr. Cleveland as foolish, and I suppose as dangerously anti-capitalist.

Two Americans have visited Italy in the past few months and made strongly contrasting impressions. Herbert Hoover held a press conference, with all questions submitted in advance, which seemed to suggest that "prosperity was just around the corner." He carefully evaded any embarrassing queries and answered all the others with a dramatic speech about the "battle of the next 120 days against hunger." Italian and American reporters alike were repelled—found him pompous. Lauchlin Currie, who was one of Roosevelt's administrative assistants, made a much better impression. He delivered two scheduled speeches to groups interested in promoting Italian-American trade and talked to everyone. He was friendly, frank, and sharp. America, he said, was a capitalist country, and Italy must put her appeals to America on a business basis. Yet he was not scandalized by the idea of meeting Socialists and Communists, and showed an appreciation of the Italian left's desire for social and economic reform. Three or four Italian political leaders told me that Currie represented what Italian anti-fascism had hoped would be America's post-war attitude.

American prestige is high in Italy despite our diplomats, high-ranking military men, and the Allied Commission. Italians are disheartened when they hear it said that America has interests in Italy but that Americans are not interested in Italy. Whatever the results of the elections and the Constitutional Convention, whatever solutions are sought for the country's social and economic ills, Italy definitely looks to America.

In the Wind

THERE'LL ALWAYS BE AN ENGLAND: British Overseas Airways puts out a little booklet called "Essential Information," which it passes out to passengers boarding for transoceanic flights. Among the essential items is this: "Women: Although passengers do not usually change in the evening on route, you may like to take with you an uncrushable dinner dress. . . . Men: Although most passengers wear a lounge suit in the evening, if you decide to take a dinner jacket you will find a soft shirt much more comfortable and suitable than a stiff one."

SENATOR CAPEHART, Indiana Republican and juke-box king, came up with a wistful plea for the "good old days" during Senate committee hearings on the OPA bill. "There are two ways to get production," he suggested. "One is to work more men and the other is to work a given number of men more hours. During the war we encouraged men to work forty-eight hours a week. Why can't we now?"

OUR WARLIKE CONTEMPORARIES: The Brockton, Massachusetts, *Daily Enterprise,* reporting an address by the Very Reverend Charles D. McInnis before the Twentieth Century Catholic Club, noted: "Father McInnis . . . pointed out that since Spain is the country nearest to ours and upon whose shores we would undoubtedly wish to land troops should war with Russia ensue . . . we should attempt to have her good-will."

THE SCHIZOPHRENIC ARMY: On May 1 the United Press released two stories on army press relations. The first, datelined Washington, led off: "Lieutenant General J. Lawton Collins, army director of information, has announced that . . . 'we want no barriers to information between the army and the people.' " The second, dispatched from Landsberg, Germany, revealed: "The United States army today attempted to clamp a censorship blackout on conditions at the Landsberg displaced-persons camp. A United Press correspondent was threatened with arrest . . . unless he left the camp immediately."

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. We will pay $1 for each item accepted.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Czechoslovakia's Rebirth

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

III. The Slovak Problem

Prague, May 8

IN THE generally favorable picture of conditions here, there are a few dark spots. One is Slovakia. Although less grave than the German issue, which is being solved, even at the risk of alienating some British and American sympathy, by the drastic policy of expulsion, Slovakia is a tougher problem than most Czech officials admit. Much has been done to ease the tension created during the occupation, but it would be unrealistic to ignore the waves of reaction that from time to time sweep Slovakia, putting to a severe test the patience and skill of the central government.

Heading the reaction is the Catholic church. Unlike the Catholics of Bohemia, who have wisely decided to accept the progressive policies of the Prague government, the clergy of Slovakia oppose every social reform. It was no accident that Tiso, the quisling Monsignor of the war, came out of the Slovakian hierarchy. There has been delay after delay in bringing him before a firing squad. The Slovak Catholics would consider his execution a heresy, and the Prague government apparently believes it has had enough difficulties to overcome in the past year without inviting trouble in Slovakia by pressing his trial. The church operates in the political field through the Democratic Party, a kind of Slovak M. R. P. but much more reactionary and a more faithful instrument of the Vatican than the French party. Although Slovakia is ruled by the same four-party coalition as Bohemia, the presence of the Democratic Party provides the reaction with an effective and dangerous fifth column. Contributing also to weakening the position of the progressive forces in Slovakia was the merger of Socialists and Communists, which proved a complete failure and explains the refusal of the Czech Communists to follow the general tendency toward fusion in other countries.

The first thing President Benes did was to declare, "The Slovak people cannot be held responsible for the treachery of its leaders. We must live together, and I ask every Czech to be fair and generous." The differences between the two peoples have partly a national origin and are partly the result of conditions which developed during the twenty years following the foundation of the Czechoslovak Republic. One cause of estrangement was the fact that the Czechs are better administrators and more gifted in the art of politics. This created among the Slovaks a certain inferiority feeling and a resentful belief, possibly justified, that they had been relegated to the role of second-class citizens. It was a situation which the Germans found easy to exploit. More important was the great difference in the economic structure of the two regions. Always a source of trouble, this difference has become even more serious since the end of the war; automatically the Slovaks oppose every progressive measure, whether it is nationalization or participation of the unions in national policy. While Bohemia is predominantly industrial, Slovakia continues to be essentially a country of peasants. In the two decades that preceded the war the agrarian reform announced for Slovakia practically remained on paper. The Slovak landlords were not anxious to hasten land reform, and a section of the Czech high bourgeoisie, for reasons of their own, did everything possible to prevent it. On the one hand, they did not want Slovak industries to develop to a point where they could compete with those in the Czech districts; on the other, they profited by the thousands of laborers unable to get jobs in Slovakia who poured into Bohemia to work at lower wages than Czechs would accept.

Since the liberation the agrarian reform has been in full swing. It is being applied in two stages. The first, already far advanced, consists in the confiscation without compensation of all the land of Germans and Hungarians and of Slovaks who collaborated with the Germans. The first beneficiaries are the guerrilla fighters who took part in the battle of liberation; it is interesting, and again reveals the warm sympathy that exists in Czechoslovakia for the Spanish Republican cause, that members of the International Brigade who fought in Spain enjoy the same rights as the partisans. All get from five to six hectares of land plus machinery, credit, and cattle. The problem of livestock is the most difficult; there are regions in Slovakia where not a single cow remained. They were all sent to Germany.

In the second stage of the reform estates are to be distributed which belong not to collaborators but to other large landholders. The owner is left fifty hectares for his own use and is indemnified for the rest. But even so radical an agricultural reform will not solve the economic problem. Contrary to the old idea of Slovakia as a rich, self-sustaining farming country, the truth is that the land will not support the population. The soil is fertile, but the mountainous character of the country reduces the tillable area. On the other hand, Slovakia is rich in raw materials, which, taken together with the surplus of labor, provide the basis for a successful industrial development. The government program includes the building of industries in Slovakia, a definite reversal of pre-war policy.

Politically Benes wants to give satisfaction to the Slovaks by creating a kind of local Diet with the right to settle certain problems of a political and economic character. It would be a very wise move because separatist tendencies, though much reduced since the liberation, are still strong under the surface. The most hopeful sign that the antagonism between the two regions will be gradually overcome is found in the action of the R. O. H. congress, which sanctioned the complete organic unity of the Czech and Slovak unions. The working class, which is playing such a remarkable role in the rebirth of Czechoslovakia, has also undertaken the great task of reconciling the two peoples. It is a striking case of the workers assuming a national function above the interests of class—a function Karl Marx assigned them in the "Communist Manifesto."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Trade Policies and Sugar

IN THE current issue of *Fortune* William L. Clayton, Assistant Secretary of State, reminds us that the Department of State has published "Proposals for Expansion of World Trade and Employment" as a basis for international discussions of economic disarmament. These proposals, which have been indorsed in principle by Great Britain, contain "practical suggestions for the substantial reduction of tariffs, the elimination of tariff preferences, control of quotas, embargoes, subsidies, and cartels, and the establishment of rules concerning state trading and the administration of exchange control." As Mr. Clayton remarks, this represents an ambitious program, but since only very slow progress in breaking down trade barriers can be expected to result from bilateral negotiations, it is necessary to bring a large group of countries together and get them to consider an agenda covering all the main forms of trade control. For "each country uses its own system of protection, and it is not likely to be impressed with the necessity of relaxing it unless the kinds that other countries use are relaxed at the same time."

In preparation for an international trade conference, the date of which has still to be fixed, informal diplomatic talks among the United States and other governments are already believed to be taking place. But it would seem that some kind of domestic preparation is also required. It is no use for the United States to enter an international conference calling for the reduction of trade barriers, particularly one in which it is a moving spirit, unless it is assured of public backing for some reducing on its own account. Nothing would be more fatal to hopes of freer world trade than the refusal of Congress, under pressure from vested interests, to ratify or implement an agreement reached by such a conference. Mr. Clayton himself appears to recognize that there is some doubt about where Americans will stand when international discussions get down to brass tacks. "Whether the [above-mentioned] proposals," he writes, "state a program on which this country can unite is a question that American business ought to answer before the suggested conference meets."

There is no doubt, of course, that most American business men believe that the markets of the world ought to be made more accessible to American products. Many of them, particularly those with a direct interest in exports, will recognize that this is not likely to happen unless American markets are opened to foreign goods. Nevertheless, the reduction of any particular tariff is sure to encounter heavy opposition.

It is sometimes forgotten, moreover, that tariffs are not the only protective devices employed in this country. Restrictive quotas, preferences, and other discriminatory measures have, it is true, been used on a much larger scale by some other nations. But they are not unknown here, and their modification, for which Congressional action will be necessary, is not going to be easy.

Let us look, for example, at the problem of sugar, for which a solution will have to be found in the near future, since the Sugar Act of 1937, which governs relations between imports and home production, expires at the end of this year. Both beet- and cane-sugar industries within the continental United States are, frankly, parasitical. They have grown up fostered by larger and larger tariffs, supplemented, when they threatened to die despite this protection, by quota regulation of imports and by subsidies. In the early thirties, after the adoption of the Hawley-Smoot tariff, the effective rate of duty on Cuban sugar was $2 a hundred pounds, which meant in May, 1932, when the price of sugar in New York fell to $2.57, that the Cuban producer was getting a gross return of only 57 cents a hundred pounds. And Cuba, it must be remembered, enjoyed a 20 per cent preference compared with other foreign countries.

Despite the height of the tariff wall behind which they operated, American cane and beet growers were almost down and out. Their difficulty was that the tariff also protected sugar grown in Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines, where costs of production, though higher than in Cuba, were well below those in the continental United States. Thus protection inadequate for domestic producers served to stimulate production in the dependencies. An attempt to remedy this situation was made in 1934, when the Jones-Costigan amendment to the Agricultural Adjustment Act inaugurated a policy of quotas fixing the mainland share of the market at about 25 per cent of the whole, allotting Cuba 1,900,000 tons —about one-third of its total production—and dividing the rest among Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Philippines. The prohibitive tariff served to exclude imports from the many other sugar-exporting countries. These provisions were renewed and strengthened by the Sugar Act of 1937.

One of the main arguments for this hothouse nurture of the home sugar industry has been that it would assure supplies in the event of war. But this defense cannot stand up on the record of the past five years. In 1941 the beet growers did produce the largest crop they had ever achieved, but since then their output has fallen away year by year. This is explained by lack of labor and fertilizer, but it is precisely in war time that these elements in production are likely to be in short supply. If we had had to depend on mainland sugar to make up for loss of the Philippines exports, the shortage would have been far more severe than it was. Fortunately, Cuba has to some extent been able to step into the breach, though it has not expanded production nearly as much as it could have done if the United States had been willing to contract for more than one crop at a time and to give some assurance of a larger post-war market.

When the Sugar Act comes up for review, the Cuban plantation interests are obviously going to press for a larger quota, and they will be able to make out a strong case. But merely to alleviate Cuba's position within the quota system will not make American sugar legislation any less discriminatory so far as the rest of the world is concerned, nor any less of a stumbling-block in negotiations with other countries engaging in similar practices to the detriment of American trade. The whole policy needs to be reconsidered from this point of view as well as from that of the American consumer, who has been footing the bill. I shall return again to this subject in my next article. KEITH HUTCHISON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

The Russian Evolution

THE GREAT RETREAT. The Growth and Decline of Communism in Russia. By Nicholas S. Timasheff. E. P. Dutton and Company. $5.

I CHOSE FREEDOM. By Victor Kravchenko. Charles Scribner's Sons. $3.50.

RELIGION IN RUSSIA. By Robert Pierce Casey. Harper and Brothers. $2.

BY "The Great Retreat" Professor Timasheff means the movement in Communist thought and practice from Marxist orthodoxy back to some of the traditional *mores* and dogmas of the older Russia. He places the beginning of this retreat at about 1934. The periods which preceded it—the period of war communism (1917-21), of the New Economic Policy (1921-29), and of the new socialization program initiated with the series of "five-year" plans—are analyzed as the background of the strategy of retreat. It is Timasheff's thesis that a utopian revolutionary movement, using dictatorial means to effect a radical change in the economy and culture of a nation, is forced in the end to come to terms with certain permanent aspects of the human situation, embodied in traditional customs, beliefs, and practices. Utopianism seeks vainly to alter these perennially powerful elements in a culture and must finally come to terms with them.

The retreat of the Russian dictatorship from orthodox Marxism to traditional Russian elements of culture is a matter of common knowledge. But Professor Timasheff's careful documentation of this development is of great value because it brings many facets of the movement, hitherto considered separately by various students, under a single survey and allows the student to consider the meaning of the whole. A few of the facets may be worth enumerating. There has been a shift from orthodox Marxist internationalism to Russian patriotism, culminating in Stalin's statement at the outbreak of the war, which made an appeal for the defense of the fatherland without a single reference to Marxist ideology. The earlier attitude which sought to reduce family ties to a minimum has been replaced by an appreciation of the family. Divorce has been made more difficult, and abortion, once encouraged, declared illegal. Atheistic propaganda has been outlawed and the church has achieved toleration.

This last development is more fully analyzed in Professor Casey's book, which also gives both the Russian and the Marxist background of the present religious situation in Russia. The culmination of this aspect of the retreat was the council of the Orthodox church in 1945, at which a new Patriarch was elected. Professor Casey's treatise is a competent and scholarly one, but it would have greater value if he had made a fuller analysis of the pronouncements of the 1945 council. These pronouncements represent a curious mixture of Christian phraseology and Soviet thought, and raise some questions about the degree of freedom enjoyed by the emancipated church.

The "retreat" also involves a repudiation of the more deterministic elements in Marxist thought, which are condemned as "bourgeois mechanistic philosophy," while the more voluntaristic elements are stressed. Since Lenin was already more voluntaristic than Marx, this may be a case in which "Stalinism" is truly in conformity with "Leninism." Another shift in emphasis involves the utopian doctrine of the "withering away of the state," which implies that dictatorship is only temporary. The transient character of the dictatorship is being emphasized less and less, and the dictatorship is becoming one within the party rather than of the party over the nation. The movement culminates in a veneration of Stalin which reaches religious dimensions. Another retreat can be charted in educational practice. A rather extravagant experimentalism in education has proved incapable of inculcating the three R's and yielded to a new regimentation in the schools. Thus a dictatorship intended to change the face of Russia radically has been gradually forced to yield to traditional forces. It has not, however, abrogated its own absolutism. Timasheff contends that the Communist dictatorship is more absolute than anything known in previous Russian history, at least in the history of the nineteenth century.

All this, though not new, is presented with cumulative effect. But the author rather spoils the effect of his analysis by engaging in implausible speculations on what Russia would have been like had the Communist revolution failed. It is his thesis that Russia, though backward, was not a stagnant nation; and that if the incipient reforms in land ownership, education, industrialization, and representative government had been allowed to continue without interruption the nation would now be more advanced than it is. Such speculations are not very convincing; and they are not made more plausible by statistics and graphs purporting to prove what "might have been." History does not move forward merely by the logic of revolutions, but statistical logic cannot comprehend its forward movement either.

"I Chose Freedom" is the personal confession and history of a Russian purchasing agent who made the headlines in 1944 by throwing up his job with the Soviet purchasing mission in Washington and indicting the whole Soviet system. In this book he reveals that he came to Washington with exactly this escape in mind. The book is not unlike Barmine's exposé of Russian political and economic life. The details of labor camps, purges, bureaucratic inefficiency, and general insecurity under totalitarianism that are presented in this record seem to tally fairly well with other estimates. Naturally personal animus prompts the author to dwell on the darker side of the Russian picture. One could well argue that the regime could not be so evil as depicted or it would not have survived the war. On the other hand, such considerations need not invalidate this record, for even a better social system than the Russian one is subject to contradictory estimates that might represent equally valid half-truths.

The outsider cannot make a fair estimate of such an indictment, but it can be set down that the story is fairly self-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

authenticating. The author was a member of the new managerial oligarchy in Russia, and he throws interesting light upon the inevitable friction between the technical managers and the political and police leadership. He survived the purges by exerting great energy and by refusing to sign the confessions which the police tried to force upon him. The comrades are naturally trying to discredit this story by suggesting that there must be something wrong with a man who was disaffected, by his own admission, as early as 1932 and yet continued to rise in the managerial oligarchy. I can see nothing implausible in the motivation, or wrong either. He was undoubtedly strongly influenced by the aversion of his father and mother, old non-Communist social revolutionaries, to the Communist system. Naturally the moral standards which prompt men to resist and resent tyranny and caprice must be drawn from somewhere, and the author seems to have drawn them from a good source.

The uncritical proponents of Soviet "democracy" will undoubtedly argue that the author has forgotten that one cannot have a nice revolution or make an omelette without breaking eggs. But the record proves that it is one thing to regard broken eggs from a distance and another to be close enough at hand to note that the broken eggs are human lives.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

The Status of Women: What Was It?

WOMAN AS A FORCE IN HISTORY. By Mary R. Beard. The Macmillan Company. $3.50.

ALL her writing life Mary Beard has stood in the public mind for the idea of equality between men and women. Her partnership with her husband in the writing of such basic works of historical interpretation as "The Rise of American Civilization" has been held up as an example to the young: thus could wives hope to participate in a joint scholarly endeavor; thus could husbands afford to grant recognition to the part their wives played in work interesting to both. How fruitful the idea has been can be seen in any number of books signed jointly by husband and wife which would earlier have carried recognition of the wife's part only in the form of a nineteenth-century acknowledgment of assistance, more polite than convincing.

It has been assumed by outsiders that Mrs. Beard was content with this position. But she has never been one to be satisfied with any status quo merely on its face value, and in her newest book she delves into the origin of the idea she has personified. She finds it starting and developing as a way of escape from the idea of subjection, and her handling of the two concepts is such as to leave one wondering whether she will emerge with the thesis that the equality idea is as false as she believes the subjection idea to have been.

Mrs. Beard believes that the actual status of women throughout history is much more varied and complex than is ordinarily understood, that it has not been sufficiently documented or studied, that it was, in the Anglo-Saxon world, subjected to deliberate perversion in 1756 when Blackstone in his famous "Commentaries" set up a false interpretation of the legal status of women which was afterward woven

Harper
ESTABLISHED 1817

A work of historical importance

Stalin

An Appraisal of the Man and His Influence

by

Leon Trotsky

Charles Malamuth, Editor and Translator

This carefully documented book by Stalin's political opponent—a distinguished scholar and writer—traces Stalin's career from his school days through his rise to power in the Communist Party. Here also is an account of Communist politics during the crucial years when the USSR was establishing itself as a great power.

Two-thirds of the book was finished by Trotsky himself. The final third was completed by his editor and translator, Charles Malamuth, from Trotsky's outline, copious notes, memoranda and partly written pages. In this section the editorial interpolations are set off by brackets from Trotsky's own text.

With two supplements, appendix, chronological guide, bibliography of Trotsky's writings available in English, glossary of terms, and full index. 16 pages of illustrations.

AT ALL BOOKSTORES • $5.00

HARPER & BROTHERS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Today--
in occupied Germany

Imagine an aristocratic German family with a French daughter-in-law — and two Allied occupation officers stationed in their home. This is the setting for a tense drama of conflicting loyalties, Storm Jameson's latest novel—

The
OTHER
SIDE

"*The Other Side* is not only the best novel Miss Jameson has written, but it also happens to be one of the top novels so far this season," says John Cournos in the *New York Sun*. "It may be legitimately called a thriller, especially designed for intellectual palates."

Those who know Miss Jameson's writing can guess that a "thriller" from her pen has more in it than excitement and suspense. "More fully than any other English writer," says Henry Steele Commager in the *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*, "she has made herself the unhappy diagnostician of the sickness of Europe . . . This moving and tender study of French and German character is a fitting conclusion to Miss Jameson's long chronicle of Europe at war."

STORM JAMESON
is the author of
THE CAPTAIN'S WIFE, CLOUDLESS MAY, THE JOURNAL OF MARY HERVEY RUSSELL

•

$1.75 at your bookstore

•

MACMILLAN

into the fabric of law in England and the United States and was given credence out of all proportion to its value. The women who met to frame the famous Seneca Falls Declaration of 1848 felt themselves oppressed, and to a certain extent actually were oppressed, because Blackstone had said that woman had always been subject to man's will. The idea exercised "an almost tyrannical force" for over a hundred years. It spurred women to set out on a crusade against a situation which was based chiefly on the fictions created by one man's prejudice, lack of scholarship, and power of persuasion.

To people brought up in the classic school of feminine protest this latter assertion is little short of revolutionary. Certainly it must be explored, and with more light than heat. If true, it calls for an overhauling of the entire fabric of feminist thinking. Women who still seek to push an equalitarian amendment through Congress may find themselves moving in a vacuum. Meanwhile, if women cannot clamor that they have always been oppressed, they lose their easiest excuse for lack of first-rate accomplishment in the modern world. The question now becomes, if we can no longer rattle or take refuge in our non-existent chains: where do we go from here and when shall we get about it? Mrs. Beard thinks we have traditionally been the great civilizing force. If so, it is certainly time we got on the job again.

MILDRED ADAMS

The Witty Martyrs

CONFESSIONS OF A EUROPEAN INTELLECTUAL. By Franz Schönberner. The Macmillan Company. $2.75.

THESE English confessions of a German editor testify for a number of German editors. Surrounded by Vehme murderers, the underground foes of the Weimar Republic, they fought against the progressive benightment of Germany. Naturally anti-heroic, they showed heroic courage in the literary war against German militarism, against nationalism and reaction. These witty citizens of the world tried to bring the unfinished integration of Germany in Europe to a close—each one in splendid isolation, defenseless against squint-eyed justice and the only too menacing threats of death at the hands of the earliest Nazis.

These embattled editors were not burrowing underground. They fought in the literal light of day, with mordant wit and easy consciences, against an enemy who later all but put the world in bondage. Without seeking heroic glory or the martyr's crown of thorns they turned into martyrs and heroes. They paid the price of loyalty to their convictions in loss of life or liberty, in exile or a hundred lost illusions. Many of them are already dead and forgotten. Mankind remembers the names of its enemies better than those of its friends. Anti-heroic heroes, witty martyrs, German liberal editors: of the *Weltbühne,* Carl von Ossietzky, Kurt Tucholsky, Willi Schlamm; of the *Tagebuch,* Leopold Schwarzschild and Joseph Bornstein; of the *Frankfurter Zeitung,* Konrad Heiden and Joseph Roth; of the *Berliner Tageblatt,* Theodor Wolff and Rudolf Olden; of the other liberal magazines or newspapers, Werner Hegemann,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Theodor Lessing, Erich Mühsam. They stand for hundreds of fighting editors.

Franz Schönberner in these "Confessions" tells with wit and wisdom and gentle humor, with satire and an irony that does not spare himself, how the eleventh child of a well-to-do Berlin minister became the fighting editor of *Simplizissimus*, the most aggressive humor magazine in Germany. His is a typical story of the evolution of a determined individualist and relentless aesthete, from disgust at politics to derision of the abuse of power and the vanity of the powers that be, ending up in the life-and-death struggle against any kind of tyranny and the abuse of humanity. It is the story of a fighting liberal, unprotected by powerful parties yet always taking the part of the weak and righteous and oppressed.

In a graceful style reminiscent of the great French pamphleteers and conversationalists, Schönberner vividly resurrects the empire and the Weimar Republic. Numerous anecdotes illuminate the splendid portraits and characteristic life stories of this autobiography, which depicts a whole epoch. Schönberner describes the Munich revolution, accomplished "with great oratory and little gunfire," and tells how "a minister's son discovers the dangerous force of thinking." He conveys acute impressions of the people he met—such as Rainer Maria Rilke, George Gross, Erich Kästner, the author's cousin Lou Andreas Salomé (a German Aspasia and friend of Nietzsche, Rilke, Freud), the mortally ill D. H. Lawrence, and Hans Carossa, the Munich poet and physician who examined Lawrence at Schönberner's request. There are original essays and sketches—on Dostoevski, Tolstoy, Leskov, the "misunderstood" Haushofer, Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Schönberner tells of his adventures in the First World War and in the publishing business, of his and Hitler's collaborators, of his first experiments with radio, of the homosexual paradise in Taormina, Sicily. He tells how Knut Hamsun's athlete's foot ruined his style and his character, how *Simplizissimus* fought its long, losing battle against Hitler, and how the favorite comic figure of *Simplizissimus* overnight became dictator of Germany and forced editor Schönberner into exile. And always true, for Schönberner and his reader, is one of his sentences: "Life is for him an inexhaustible source of sardonic amusement."

"Confessions of a European Intellectual" is a well of sheer pleasure, and a historical source of the first rank for all Americans who, not wanting like Censor Cato the Elder to destroy Carthage, would like to understand Germany.

HERMANN KESTEN

A Faded Violet

OWEN MEREDITH: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY OF ROBERT, FIRST EARL OF LYTTON. By Aurelia Brooks Harlan. Columbia University Press. $3.75.

WHAT are the chances of a man who wants, terribly, to write, yet has only enough talent to succeed in writing terribly? Not too bad, perhaps; Mrs. Harlan's sympathetic and scholarly study suggests that such a person, given energy, luck, connections, and money, can manage to do fairly well in the space of a lifetime. The more the

BORZOI BOOKS

Philippe Soupault's

AGE OF ASSASSINS

The Story of Prisoner No. 1234

"Philippe Soupault's *Age of Assassins* is yet another example of the resurgence of French genius in post-war literature, that genius that knows how to create directly out of experience. *Age of Assassins* is a picture of men under pressure, of their resistance to and transcendence of the Nazi tide that sought to blot out their humanity. The book deals with extreme situations—imprisonment, loneliness, and the threat of death – situations which have become too familiar to far too many men during the past 12 years. The relentless psychological analysis will remind you of Dostoyevsky. *Age of Assassins* proves that great living is necessary to produce writing that breathes the spirit of truth and rekindles in us a sense of the irreducibly human."

—Richard Wright

Translated from the French by
HANNAH JOSEPHSON

For sale at all bookshops at $3.00, published in New York by

ALFRED · A · KNOPF

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

biographer quotes, to be sure, the less she is able to interest the reader in her hero's literary works. But, for all that, the story is a fascinating one: what a novel Henry James might have made of it! A child of Mayfair, son of a distinguished novelist, a disciple of the Brownings, a writer of many books of poems, some of which sold many editions, a diplomat in many capitals, eventually a viceroy of India, Edward Robert Lytton Bulwer, also known as Owen Meredith, died a disappointed and frustrated man. He had always wanted to be a poet; he must have known he was never a very good one. Mrs. Harlan's thesis that his father was partly to blame appears to me debatable. It would certainly seem true that Bulwer Lytton did all he could to discourage his son's literary career, even to the extent of refusing him permission to use the family name; and it may be that the reasons he alleged—that writing was a hazardous, arduous, unremunerative business—were not entirely ingenuous. He may have been jealous, fearful that his son's name would surpass his own, and his pride was considerable. But that pride, one suspects, had equal grounds for anxiety in the possibility that the son would be, not too good, but not good enough; and as far as I can see, the old man was just about right.

"Out of the leaves of my 'Lucile,'" runs a sentimental verse I remember from somewhere, "falls a faded violet." Reading "Lucile," as the reviewer feels he must when he is considering Mrs. Harlan's critical biography, one wonders about the taste which could have made it popular: "Half the Archduchesses and fine ladies at Vienna are reading 'Lucile' and profess to like it," wrote the author to his father, in 1869; and there were upward of a hundred editions in America during the eighties and nineties. We know all about the taste of the eighties and nineties, of course; that explains a great deal. And yet, and even while agreeing with the judgment of Fame's incorruptible silence on the works of Owen Meredith, we have what he might call a fleeting, sobering fancy: out of the leaves of what equally popular masterpiece of this decade will fall the faded violet in 1980?

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

What's wrong with our present system of unemployment compensation?

AMERICAN LABOR LEADERS from sixteen international unions, both A.F. of L. and C.I.O., asked that question. They examined the entire unemployment compensation set-up. This book is the result of their study of this vital problem.

LABOR AGREES THAT:

1. Unemployment compensation should be accessible to *all* wage-earners.
2. It should be administered by a federal organization, replacing the present crazy quilt system.
3. It must pay adequate benefits, not a pittance.
4. It must be coupled with a highly developed, nation-wide employment service.
5. It is a system of income insurance, and not a plan rewarding loafing.

Every wage-earner, everyone who works for a living, every intelligent citizen, should read this book. *$1.00*

LABOR LOOKS AT UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
5750 Ellis Ave., Chicago 37, Ill.

FICTION IN REVIEW

FROM its start as a Jewish genre novel—and its first chapter is perhaps the most charming bit of Jewish genre I have ever read—Isaac Rosenfeld's "Passage from Home" (Dial, $2.50) develops into a novel of profound universal meanings. The development is a startling one and points to what is not the least of the many extraordinary virtues of Mr. Rosenfeld's book—its ability to use its Jewish background as a natural, instead of a forced, human environment. I am not acquainted with Yiddish literature; it may be that there are writers in the native Jewish tongue who are able to avoid the almost organized emotions of Jewish separateness—the emotions of specialness, of embattledness, of social overdeterminism, of self-pity and self-punishment. But among novels of Jewish American life Mr. Rosenfeld's is, to my knowledge, the sole instance in which the fact of being Jewish is handled with complete openness yet simply as another facet of the already sufficiently complicated business of being a human being. We find, for example, that in most Jewish fiction the characters are allowed only that kind of personal drama which reflects their drama as a people. The problems or conflicts of love, of age, of status, of worldly ambition, of the acquisition of knowledge, are all assimilated into the parent problem of the relation of a subordinate social group to the dominant culture. It is out of the power to endure that the Jewish novel most commonly draws its dramatic material. Because the Jewish novelist cannot believe that his environment really belongs to him, he cannot envision a valid personal drama of development within it. At best, therefore, he writes a fiction of dignified resistance or acceptance, and at worst a fiction of fierce personal aggression, of the individual effort to rise above the restrictions of Jewish birth. Dealing with the Jewish subject, he never writes a heroic fiction of growth.

But Mr. Rosenfeld's novel has a hero, or at least the makings of a hero. And it also has, as this principal character, a fourteen-year old boy, Bernard, who is of an emotional and moral stature to be a beautifully adequate projection of his author—which again points to the high order of Mr. Rosenfeld's novelistic gift. For just as for Jewish fiction to underestimate the personal possibilities of Jews is to undervalue the whole Jewish section of life and to betray Jewish fiction at its source, so for any writer to underestimate the possibilities of wisdom in youth or the moral dignity of the young is to undervalue all of life and to betray all of fiction at its source. There has never been a novelist worth his salt

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who has failed to recognize the grandeur of man in the child; the tendency of current fiction, while dwelling so persistently on child themes, to picture youth as fixed in its most infant aspects is, I think, a measure of its disrespect for the whole human possibility. The accusation that will no doubt be made against Mr. Rosenfeld, that his fourteen-year-old spokesman sees more than any fourteen-year-old can see and learns more than a fourteen-year-old can learn, is, then, the softest of impeachments. A similar criticism is made of Henry James, who also tried to flatter us into maturity. What Mr. Rosenfeld might learn from James, however, is certain technical tricks, tricks of versimilitude, for concealing his method of seduction.

Its high estimation of the young is of course not the only regard in which "Passage from Home" suggests the comparison with James. Specifically in its preoccupation with the moral nature of the early educative process, Mr. Rosenfeld's novel recalls Henry James's "What Maisie Knew" or "The Pupil." Bernard's story, like Maisie's or Morgan Moreen's, is too much a matter of the subtleties by which good and evil manifest themselves to a child to lend itself easily to synopsis; stated crudely, it is the story of a boy's effort to experience the meaning of love and of the frustration of this effort by the adults who surround him. Always aware of his father's need to assume the part of virtue, Bernard looks to a small group of grown-ups outside the immediate family circle—his ostracized, bohemianly "independent" Aunt Minna; his dashing Gentile cousin-by-marriage, Willy; even his aunt's anarchic friend, Mr. Mason—to teach him some kind of truth to match an ideal of maturity. The search is an abortive one; or rather Bernard's education is an education by negatives—the boy discovers not only that his grown-ups do not love but also that they cannot acknowledge the hatred which, admitted, might permit them love. On the last page of his history Bernard realizes that "my only hope had been to confess that I did not love him [his father], to admit I had never known what love was or what it meant to love, and by that confession to create it. Now it was too late. Now there would only be life as it came and the excuses one made to himself for accepting it." And we are reminded of E. E. Cummings's wonderful lines:

> W'omen and men (both little and small)
> cared for anyone not at all
> they sowed their isn't they reaped their same
> sun moon stars rain
>
> children guessed (but only a few
> and down they forgot as up they grew
> autumn winter spring summer)
> that noone loved him more by more

Except that no more than Cummings has himself forgotten down as up he grew—or would he be capable of so much lyrical assertion of life?—do we feel that Bernard's process of growth will be downward. As an intellectual resolution of the book Mr. Rosenfeld's comment on what has happened to his young hero is undeniably sound, but there is the whole emotional tone of the novel, the whole statement of the author's own relation to his protagonist, to dispute Bernard's future of "excuses."

And in the very degree that Bernard's human future is so

Important... Inspiring

MERLE CURTI'S

The Roots of American Loyalty

Taking a new and fascinating approach to the pattern of American history, a Pulitzer Prize historian examines American patriotism, reveals wherein it is unique and how it has affected our national development. He has illustrated this theme with dramatic and colorful stories of the men and events behind such familiar symbols as the flag, the eagle and Uncle Sam. Discovering, as we read, how deep lie the roots of our American loyalty, we find here inspiration and armor for the ordeals of today.

At all bookstores • $3.00

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
MORNINGSIDE HEIGHTS • NEW YORK 27

H. G. WELLS— Prophet of the Atomic Bomb

Read his latest book:

"CRUX ANSATA — An Indictment of the Roman Catholic Church."
A historical summary of the Catholic Church's political intrigues leading to its tie-up with the Nazi-Fascist-Shinto Axis. Cloth Binding $1.75

Also get a copy of

"BEHIND THE DICTATORS," by L. H. Lehmann.
A fully documented analysis of Vatican-Fascist collaboration. Cloth Binding $1.75

COMBINATION OFFER — Both Cloth Bound Books $3.00

New Pamphlet

"VATICAN POLICY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR"
48 pages of Documented Facts . . . . . 25¢
Free to those who return this ad with their order for the above books

Order From:

AGORA PUBLISHING CO., Dept. 551
229 WEST 48TH STREET NEW YORK 19, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MOTION PICTURES

Manhattan
ALHAMBRA
COLISEUM
81st ST.
86th ST.
58th ST.
near Lex.
HAMILTON
125th ST.
REGENT
RIVERSIDE
23rd ST.

Bronx
CASTLE HILL
CHESTER
FORDHAM
FRANKLIN
MARBLE HILL
PELHAM
ROYAL

Westchester
MT. VERNON
NEW ROCH.
WH. PLAINS
YONKERS

RKO NOW

"Suspenseful . . . challenging theme."—N. Y. Times.

JAMES MASON • ANN TODD

'THE SEVENTH VEIL'

Music by LONDON SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA

—AND—

JOAN LESLIE • ROBERT ALDA

'CINDERELLA JONES'

From PHILIP WYLIE story

Brooklyn
BUSHWICK
DYKER
GREENPOINT
KENMORE
MADISON
ORPHEUM
PROSPECT
REPUBLIC
TILYOU
Coney Island

Queens
ALDEN
Jamaica
STRAND
Far Rockaway
Keith's
FLUSHING
Keith's
RICH. HILL

Manhattan
COLONIAL
B'way & 62 St.

"A dramatic and entertaining piece."—N. Y. Sun.

Claudette COLBERT • Orson WELLES • George BRENT

'TOMORROW IS FOREVER'

From the Novel by GWEN BRISTOW

—AND—

'DARK ALIBI' SIDNEY TOLER

You may again buy BOOKS through The Nation

Because of government restrictions on wrapping material, book publishers, for the past two years have refused to accept orders for less than five books. For this reason *The Nation* was obliged temporarily to discontinue its Readers' Service Department.

Now that these restrictions have been dropped *Nation* readers can again avail themselves of our offer to send them any book at the regular publisher's price, post-free if payment is received with the order, or at the publisher's price plus postage if the book is sent C. O. D. When ordering, please give name of author and publisher, if possible.

Please address your orders to

The Readers' Service Division
THE NATION
20 Vesey Street New York 7, N. Y.

full of the promise of truth and growth, Mr. Rosenfeld's novelistic future is full of the promise of truth and growth: indeed, I can think of no one now writing fiction in whose development I have greater confidence. A first novel, "Passage from Home" is not without faults and inadequacies. It has a tendency to be private where it should be even blatantly public; it over-rarefies certain of its perceptions; it seems to fear rather than to enjoy its humor; perhaps most important, it finally creates the impression of having sidestepped its drama: one is left with a vague and unnamable but still palpable sense of having been denied a complete narrative experience. But whatever the shortcomings of Mr. Rosenfeld's book, they are of only minor consequence compared to its major accomplishment—the taking of life at such a high moral pitch.

DIANA TRILLING

MOTION PICTURE

PARAMOUNT Presents
ALAN LADD
VERONICA LAKE
WILLIAM BENDIX
IN
'THE BLUE DAHLIA'
A GEORGE MARSHALL Production
Directed by GEORGE MARSHALL

—IN PERSON—
DUKE ELLINGTON
AND HIS ORCHESTRA
Plus
STUMP & STUMPY
Plus
THE CLARK BROTHERS
•
EXTRA!
THE MILLS BROTHERS

NOW PARAMOUNT TIMES SQUARE

STAGE PLAYS

THEATRE GUILD'S PRODUCTIONS
A NEW MUSICAL PLAY
CAROUSEL
Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
with John Raitt — Iva Withers
Jean Darling • Eric Mattson • Christine Johnson • Jean Casto
MAJESTIC THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway. Evgs. 8:30 Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

THE MUSICAL HIT
OKLAHOMA!
Based on Lynn Riggs' "Green Grow the Lilacs"
Music by Richard Rodgers • Book & Lyrics by Oscar Hammerstein 2d • Directed by Rouben Mamoulian • Dances by Agnes de Mille
Harold Keel • Joseph Buloff • Betty Jane Watson • Ruth Weston
ST. JAMES THEATRE 44th St. W. of Broadway. Evgs. 8:30 Mats. Thursday & Saturday at 2:30

"A Gag-Happy-Meaning-ful New Hit"
—Life Magazine

MAX GORDON presents
BORN YESTERDAY
The New Comedy Hit by GARSON KANIN
LYCEUM THEA., 45th Street East of B'way. CH. 4-4256
Evenings 8:40. Matinees Wednesday and Saturday at 2:40.

"DESERVES ITS GREAT SUCCESS"—Nichols, The Times
Rodgers and Hammerstein present
MADY CHRISTIANS • OSCAR HOMOLKA
in JOHN VAN DRUTEN'S
I REMEMBER MAMA
from Kathryn Forbes' "Mama's Bank Account"
with JOHN TETZEL • ADRIENNE GESSNER • RICHARD BISHOP
MUSIC BOX 45th Street, West of Broadway. Phone Circle 6-4636.
Eves. 8:35 Sharp. Mats. Thurs. and Sat. 2:35 Sharp.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

UNTIL the current visit of the Old Vic company (Century Theater) I had never had an opportunity to see a straightforward production of "Henry IV." Even on this occasion circumstances made it impossible for me to get to Part I, and as I watched the second half unroll upon the stage in competent performance I was compelled to wonder whether I had actually, during all these years, missed as much as I had thought. The audience was as friendly as any I have ever seen in a theater. Its delight seemed genuine and continuous. Mine, I must confess, was both intermittent and not too frequent.

Assuming as I must that the fault was not my own, where, then, does it lie—with the play itself or with the company performing it? The question is doubly difficult to answer in connection with a work I have never seen on the stage before, but I will hazard the guess that no inconsiderable part of the difficulty comes from Shakespeare himself. The chronicle form simply does not and cannot create in the theater the cumulative and integrated effect we have learned to demand there. In the mind and in the memory "Henry IV" is one of the richest and most rewarding if not one of the greatest of its author's works. The reader who ponders it perceives a pattern of relationships, and in his imagination it takes on form and meaning. Probably he unconsciously makes, as it were, his own adaptation, cutting where he likes and bringing into effective juxtaposition portions widely separated in the text. But when even the major part of that text is performed scene after scene on the stage, it tends to become fragmentary, repetitious, and not fully pointed up.

The question whether or not any particular play is fully worth performing in any given instance can be answered by any individual—at least for himself—through the application of a simple test. Does it change, add to, or in any important way enrich the experience which thoughtful reading has given him? In many cases the answer is an unmistakable affirmative. As I had occasion a few months ago to confess, the recent performance of "The Winter's Tale" completely transformed my whole estimate of the play itself. As I know from long past experience, even an extremely mediocre production of "Hamlet" can come as a revelation to one who has never seen it, even though he thinks he knows and has grasped the play as it exists on the printed page. To some greater or less extent the same thing proves to be true of a considerable number of the plays. But for me at least it did not really prove either often or importantly true in the case of "Henry IV," where many fine scenes were shrunk and impoverished instead of expanded and enriched. The long scene of Henry's death, to take one example, became a bore; and, to take another, the famous "chimes at midnight" scene seemed, despite Mr. Olivier's apparently admirable performance of Justice Shallow, too brief and too slight to fill the imagination as in the reading it does.

Two or three times, to be sure, the enrichment one is always hoping for does take place. Falstaff's casting off is beautifully played, and the bit of business which sends Pistol up to deliver his last bit of fustian into the very teeth of the King gives a final dramatic fillip to the whole scene which I had never suspected was implicit there. The entire tavern scene, in which Falstaff dines with Doll Tearsheet and Mistress Quickly, is an astonishingly effective little sketch standing by itself, and is the high point of the whole evening very largely because of Joyce Redman, who makes the slightly written part of Doll the occasion for an exhibition of rowdy virtuosity so vital and so amusing that connoisseurs might find the relatively short time she is on the stage sufficient in itself to justify an evening at the Century. But that does not alter the fact that as a whole "Henry IV, Part II" seems less impressive in the theater than it is in the mind.

Possibly one should note that only the two minor comic characters, Pistol and Doll Tearsheet, appear better than one has suspected, while Falstaff is, as usual, not really what one thought him, and that despite the fact that Ralph Richardson's performance is probably the best ever seen in New York during my time. In the text Falstaff is, after all, a poetic figure. He is the *idea* of bibulous sloth and witty rascality. Even his fat is a spiritual quality which carries with it only the pleasant suggestion of jollity and good living. But no actor ever seems to have solved the possibly unsolvable problem of physically embodying the poetic idea. A tub of guts remains merely a very physical, unattractive thing. Neither the big belly nor the dropsiacal legs are endearing or even funny. We have never believed, from reading, that Falstaff really had them.

In all seriousness I wonder if a radically different approach to the problem might not be tried. Falstaff and his companions are congenital exaggerators who delightedly magnify everything. Could we not assume that the fat knight is only pleasingly plump, not monstrous, and is merely beginning to grow rusty with age? Would not he as well as his friends seize upon these facts for elaboration, and would they not build up the comic legend of the text, which would thus become the poetic truth about the thing to which he is tending rather than the actual fact which cannot be represented without becoming disgusting?

How the Elizabethans played him nobody knows, and I am willing to assume that they could stomach a literal reading of the text which we cannot; but I doubt that we shall ever be able to believe that a merely gross old man is actually the Rabelaisian poet our imagination has accepted, and I can see many moments in the play which would be more effective on the stage if the chief actor in them were physically less far gone than he is apparently always assumed to be. In the tavern scene, for example, Doll Tearsheet responds ardently to his amorous advances, and Poins, beneath the table, calls out to Hal: "Is it not strange that desire should so many years outlive performance?" As a joke, as a prophecy by exaggeration, that would be wrily funny, but Falstaff as literally a fumbler is not worthy of himself.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

ONE of Bach's greatest instrumental works, the Passacaglia and Fugue for organ, is included in a new Victor set (1048; $4.85) of Bach's organ music performed by E. Power Biggs on the organ of Harvard Memorial Church. Aside from not maintaining its initial pace the performance is good; and its sound on the records is brilliant and spacious, but frequently blurred, so that much of the detail of the lines of counterpoint cannot be distinguished. This is true also of the sound of the other works in the volume: the imposing Chorale-Prelude "Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott," the enjoyable "little" G minor Fugue, an unfamiliar and not very consequential little Fugue in C, and an arrangement of the ubiquitous and dull "Sheep May Safely Graze" from Cantata No. 208. I can guess at

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

reasons for these choices that do not alter my own opinion that the volume should have included only works of the same stature as the Passacaglia. A couple of sides of my review copy have noisy blemishes.

Victor also offers Bach's Cantata No. 78 "Jesu, der du meine Seele," sung by the Bach Choir of Bethlehem, Lucius Metz, tenor, and Mack Harrell, bass, with an unidentified orchestra, under the direction of Ifor Jones (Set 1045; $4.85). The opening chorus is magnificent, the closing chorale very beautiful, and the tenor and bass recitatives very moving; but the tenor and bass arias and soprano-alto duet are, for me, only skillful and agreeable but routine products of Bach's craftsmanship operating on its own momentum. Except for a couple of changes of tempo in the opening chorus that do not justify themselves, the performance seems good; and except for the chorus's frequently blanketing the orchestra, it is well-reproduced (a couple of sides of my review copy have noisy blemishes). Harrell sings with impressive beauty of voice and musical style that Metz's singing does not have. One wonders why the soprano-alto duet is sung by the choir; one questions the work being sung in English as "Jesus, Thou My Weary Spirit"—an English, moreover, which cannot be understood at all in the choral passages, and can be followed only with strain in the arias. The one thing, therefore, which the printed matter in the album should include is the text used in the performance; but here Victor's nonsense department makes its inevitable contribution: a lot of dispensable information is given, but only the text of the closing chorale, and this not in the English translation used in the performance, but in the completely different translation of Terry, which is of no help in distinguishing the words that the chorus is singing.

Writing about Copland's score for "Appalachian Spring" last year I was aware of the possibility that I hadn't enjoyed the music because of its relations to what I hadn't enjoyed in Martha Graham's choreography. The recording of Koussevitzky's performance of a concert suite with the Boston Symphony (Set 1046; $4) has given me an opportunity to hear the music by itself; and I find much of it—though not all—very enjoyable and impressive, as well as expertly and beautifully put together. The performance seems right; and it is superbly reproduced by the records (but one side of my copy suffers from a noise like a crack, and another from wavering pitch). The elaborate printed material (for which you pay extra) includes a description of the stage action connected with the music that impresses me as having been written by the author of the unreliable material of that type in Victor's "Swan Lake" and "Istar" sets.

Koussevitzky's performance of Schubert's Unfinished Symphony with the Boston Symphony has been newly recorded (Set 1039; $3.85). The treatment of the first movement remains quite straightforward except for the excessive retardation introducing the famous cello theme and a slowing down in the coda; the second movement begins *Adagio* and gradually works up to something near the *Andante con moto* that Schubert asks for. The orchestra's beautiful playing is well reproduced.

A volume of music for two pianos offers Schuman's Andante and Variations Opus 46, Chopin's Rondo Opus 73, and Mendelssohn's Allegro Brillant, performed by Luboshutz and Nemenoff (Set 1047; $4.85). Schumann's use of the variation process results in some moderately effective writing for the piano; but this is not a strong work of Schumann; and the other pieces are even feebler. The performances are fluent and precise, but too mannered in Schumann's and Chopin's music for my ears; and they are excellently recorded.

An entire volume of Strauss Polkas (Set 1049; $3) I find wearying. Perhaps I wouldn't if Fiedler's performances with the Boston "Pops" Orchestra weren't so unrelievedly robust; perhaps they seem unrelievedly robust because of the unrelievedly reverberant recording.

Art

CLEMENT GREENBERG

TO ONE whose acquaintance with the German painter Max Beckmann is confined to his clumsy and callow triptych "Departure" at the Museum of Modern Art, the exhibition at the Buchholz Gallery (through May 18) of fifteen paintings he executed in Holland between 1939 and 1945 provides a surprise. Though the general style is the same as that of the triptych, it has here yielded far greater results. And these are such in five or six pictures as to warrant calling Beckmann a great artist, even though he may not be a great painter. He is certainly one of the last to handle the human figure and the portrait on the level of ambitious, original art. True, he reminds us of much we have already seen in German expressionism and in Marsden Hartley—his affinities with Hartley are amazingly close. And it is also true that he often paints badly, using black contour lines to animate and sustain his color; that his color itself gets muddy at times and is saved only by his drawing and the unity it gets from paint surface rather than from harmony. But for all that, the power of Beckmann's emotion, the tenacity with which he insists on the distortions that correspond most exactly to that emotion, the flattened, painterly vision he has of the world, and the unity this vision imposes—so realizing decorative design in spite of Beckmann's inability to think it through consciously—all this suffices to overcome his lack of technical "feel" and to translate his art to the heights.

In my opinion Beckmann is superior to Rouault. Rouault exploits black and raw umber in much the same way, but the adeptness with which he shows off his *métier* and the paint quality of his temperament puts Beckmann's craft to shame. Yet Beckmann realizes his whole being in paint, and Rouault does not, preferring instead to realize his pretensions. The German's paintings have, at the very first glance and even before one is reconciled to them, a reality that Rouault's much greater brilliance hardly ever embodies.

Peggy Guggenheim has discovered another important young abstract painter at her Art of This Century Gallery—Robert De Niro, whose first show (through May 11) exhibits monumental effects rare in abstract art. In two of De Niro's ten pictures, "Ubi Roi" and "Fruits and Flowers," the originality and force of his temperament demonstrate themselves under an iron control of the plastic elements such as is rarely seen in our time outside the painting of the oldest surviving members of the school of Paris.

His other canvases are much less successful but offer at least evidence of great possibilities, especially in their draftsmanship. Where De Niro usually goes wrong is in his hot, violent color, which, although it has digested the favorable influence of Matisse, often overasserts itself and distorts the drawing. A deep madder against yellow will pull the shape it fills out of place and send it too far forward; in other cases the color will expand a shape too far vertically or horizontally. It is as if De Niro wished to compensate himself for his restraint as a draftsman by self-indulgence and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bombast in his color. His specific problem at the moment, however, is not to find or express himself so much as to produce objective works of art; he has already found himself and will always express himself—let him have enough self-assurance from now on to bother about maintaining the balance of the picture plane and other such "objective" problems.

COURSE

ARE YOU OPEN-MINDED?

The ATOM BOMB swept the New Age into a ONE WORLD FACT. Let **TRUTH** sweep from your Mind the old relics of **MYSTICISM, FEAR** and **SUPERSTITION.** Live according to Nature's Laws.

THE NEW SCIENTIFIC METAPHYSICS shows the way.

It is vividly, forcefully and clearly presented in the

One-World Extension Course

offered on a free-will payment plan. Blend your will with the Universal. Why struggle? Dare to live splendidly.

For information, write at once to

ONE-WORLD EXTENSION COURSE

Topeka, Kansas, Box 717, Dept. X
UNITED NATIONS

HELP WANTED

We Want a Pro-Labor

ADVERTISING SALESMAN

Must have successfully sold publication space for at least two years. Our job is selling space for major union publications with 2,500,000 circulation throughout the United States. Worthwhile future. Salary plus commission.

Write details to Alexander Smith

TRADE UNION ADVERTISING
1133 Broadway New York 10, N. Y.

SITUATION WANTED

SECRETARY—cultured, mature, personable woman. Editorial and commercial experience. Desires position full or part-time. Box 1608, c/o The Nation.

HANDWRITING ANALYSIS

SCIENTIFIC HANDWRITING analysis. Alfred Kanfer, 62 Leroy St., N. Y. C. Tel. WA 5-0956. Cooperating with doctors, psychologists, schools, firms, industries. Lessons. By appointment, evenings. Marital, educational, vocational, psychological problems. Fee $3.00.

LANGUAGES

STUDY EASILY and quickly all languages by phonograph records. Also rentals. ALIN, 475 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17. MU. 3-1093.

MERCHANDISE FOR SALE

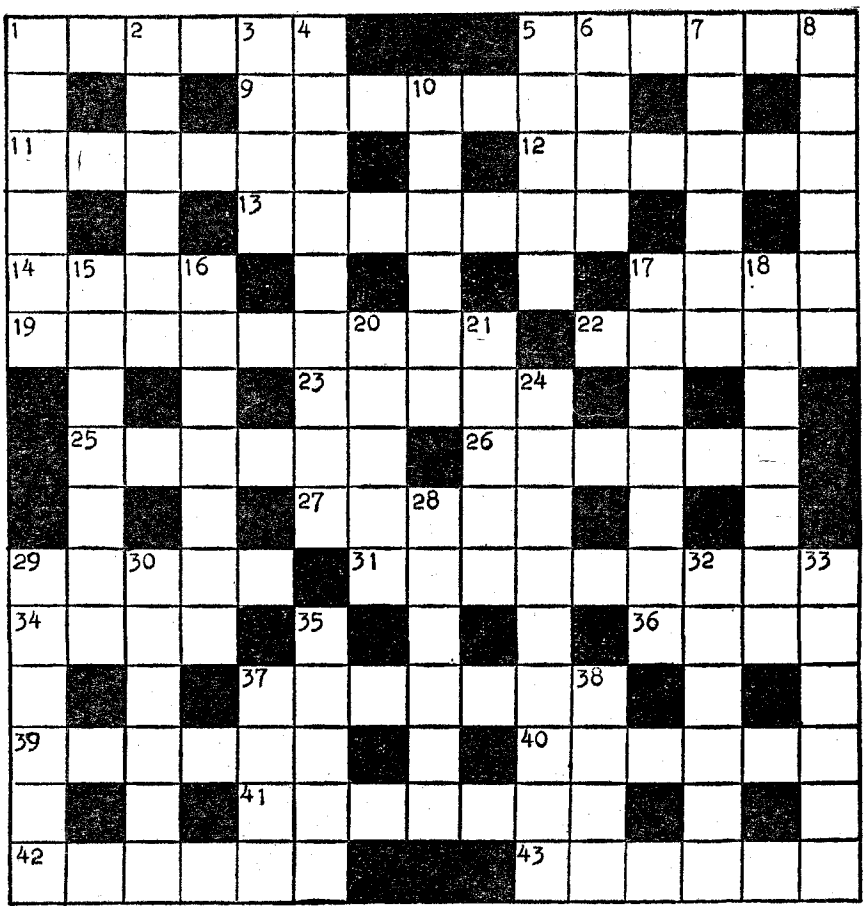
CIGARETTES—Popular brands; minimum 3 cartons. Price $1.40 per carton, postpaid. Send check or money order. Ace Mail Order Co., East Orange 1, N. J.

MAGAZINE SUBSCRIPTIONS

SUBSCRIBE FOR PERIODICALS by asking me for any number at a time. Pay after I bill you at publishers' lowest prices. Catalog NA, Free. John Crehore. Postbox 2329-N. Washington 13, D. C.

Crossword Puzzle No. 161

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 The Walrus and the Carpenter might have wept like anything to see it
5 Much of this frozen dessert would be to puss's taste
9 Discharged its contents
11 Not a victoria, though Victorians rode in it
12 Kansas town the Indians called "a good place to dig potatoes"
13 Popular song book in church circles
14 Architectural molding
17 Those who see us off by train use this word again and again
19 A dream of a night for a play
22 Paddle your own
23 Sea lions and fur seals are, but true seals are not
25 "Conscience, ------! Richard's himself again!"
26 What we erroneously call passages between pews
27 Contributes
29 Dull old fellow with antiquated notions
31 People of importance to authors
34 Ah! unhappy day
36 Rose seems to be aggrieved
37 Sounds as though you might feel cold at the French hairdresser's
39 Even the cold shoulder is fine when treated thus
40 Digestive juice
41 Lost, Sue? (anag.)
42 Lands in Western Europe
43 You want the earth, and it's nearly all here!

DOWN

1 May be models, but it's not often
2 The Snark was, in the Lewis Carroll verses
3 Gather
4 Meat menus? Ha! ha!
5 A coin-in-the-slot affair
6 Not always "sweet and wholesome"
7 European country where spring is almost unknown
8 Empower
10 What the cat in Saki's *Tobermory* was
15 Bluish-white opal with reddish reflections
16 Gets away
17 Purchasers of these get something for their money
18 Opposite of whitefish?
20 Mother has gone all high-falutin'!
21 This money is handy
24 Undeceives
28 Is in the middle of the Noes
29 He carries all before him (two words, 3 and 3)
30 Otherwise the solan goose
32 Everybody's antiseptic
33 A steed as suited to the elderly
35 Passion
37 Feast
38 Don't file your nails with this!

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 160

ACROSS:—1 PATRIOT; 5 FAUX PAS; 9 RESIGNS; 10 NEPOTIC; 11 EVICT; 12 ILL; 13 READE; 14 UNREADY; 16 YELLOWY; 18 WARTHOG; 21 GOBELIN; 24 ROUTS; 26 OWL; 27 BREAM; 28 ANEMONE; 29 LOGGIAS; 30 TOURNEY; 31 OUTLETS.

DOWN:—1 PARVENU; 2 TASTIER; 3 INGOT; 4 TESTIFY; 5 FINALLY; 6 UPPER; 7 PETSAMO; 8 SOCIETY; 15 ASH, 17 LOB; 18 WARRANT; 19 ROULEAU; 20 GROCERY; 21 GALILEO; 22 LEE TIDE; 23 NEMESIS; 25 SPOON; 27 BIGHT.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RESORTS

OPENING JUNE 21st

•

Relaxingly Different!
Gayly Informal!
All Sports Facilities
Music — Entertainment

•

Comfortable Cabins and Lodges
Excellent American-Jewish Cuisine

WOPOWOG LODGE
on Lake Salmon
EAST HAMPTON, CONN.

Managing Director: Dr. Maxwell Kaye
Associate Directors:
Sammy Kay Johnny Swedlin
N.Y.C. 200 5th Ave. GRam. 7-1177

APARTMENT WANTED

VIOLENTLY reactionary in-laws giving liberal couple (both vets) and infant son combat fatigue. Desperate for 1- or 2-bdrm unfurn or furn apt to $60 in or near Washington, D. C. Will consider buying furniture. Box 1606, c/o The Nation, or call Pleasant 0576.

FARMS AND ACREAGE

8-ROOM Cape Cod; slate roof; new paint and shutters; electric; never-failing brook; pool; small orchard; 100 acres. $4,500. Terms. Berkshire Farm Agency. Chatham, New York.

FOR LEASE

ABOUT 70,000 square feet (24-foot ceilings) at Bay and Greene Streets, Jersey City, opposite Harborside Terminal. Former Hudson Tubes powerhouse. Ideal for cold storage, warehouse, etc. Building is 143 x 123 feet with additional 136 x 123 feet land; ample railroad sidings. Building very best structurally but will require two inner walls and reconditioning. For long-term lease with option to purchase. L. N. Rosenbaum & Son, 565 Fifth Avenue, New York 17.

FOR SALE

LIVE RENT FREE! Connecticut hills, remodelled residence, four apartments, owner's vacant, well-built, though need some repairs. Garage, perennials, excellent town library, priced low to close estate. Box 1607, c/o The Nation.

SUMMER RENTAL

TWO large rooms, furnished, sublet for 3 months. Brooklyn, Eastern Parkway section. Elevator. References required. PR 2-1681.

LAKESHORE cottage northern Vermont. Boathouse, rowboat, wooded seclusion, pyrofax stove, refrigerator, electric water heater, outdoor and indoor fireplaces. 3 bedrooms and detached one-room cabin. June 15-Aug. 15: $250. Or $150 for one month. Box 1611, c/o The Nation.

RESORTS

Indian Lake Lodge
In the Heart of the Adirondacks
INDIAN LAKE, N.Y.

An informal, charmingly situated rendezvous for vacationists who enjoy all water sports, tennis, hiking, plus good books, good music, good food and congenial company.

SEASON
June 15th to September 15th
P. O. Box 1058, Grand Central Annex, N.Y.C.
UN 3-0330

INVITATION TO RELAX
Enjoy the serenity of Plum Point. Gorgeous countryside, roaring fireplace, delicious food — and fun.
Only 55 miles from New York
MAKE RESERVATIONS EARLY
PLUM POINT
"Year-Round Vacation Resort"
New Windsor, N.Y. Tel: Newburgh 4270

The BAILIWICK
OPEN ALL YEAR
Beautiful palatial Estate, situated in the Catskill Mountains, Rip Van Winkle country, luxurious rooms with private baths and fireplaces. Excellent cuisine, superb accommodations for a rest and relaxation, lovely mountain trails, easy access by car and rail.
For information or reservations write or call
Telephone: Palenville 118 F 12
BAILIWICK, Rt. 1, Box 91, Catskill, N. Y.

Ridgefield, Conn. • Phone 820
A resort of distinction fashioned from a country estate. Water sports, hiking trails, tennis. Library, open fireplaces. Congenial atmosphere. Famous cuisine.

HATHAWAY LODGE
OPEN ALL YEAR
Formerly the palatial 592-acre Macy estate in the beautiful "Hills of the Sky." Large, luxurious rooms, many with open fireplaces and private porches. Winding Mountain Trails. Delicious food. Easy Transportation.
Special Spring Rates • Make reservations now
For reservations or further information write or call
HATHAWAY LODGE, Haines Falls, N. Y.
Telephone: Tannersville 259

Timberland
POTTERSVILLE, N. Y.
AN ADULT CAMP IN THE ADIRONDACKS
LIMITED TO 100
OPEN MAY 19th
ALL SPORTS • PRIVATE LAKE
DANCING • LECTURES • CONCERTS
N. Y. OFFICE: 33 W. 42nd St. LOngacre 5-3674
The Rare Charm of an Intimate Congenial Group

GRANITE LAKE CABINS for adults. Swimming, boating, fishing, good food. Private baths. June 27th to Labor Day. From $80.00 weekly double. Box 77, Munsonville, N. H.

BOYS CAMP

BOYS camp beautifully situated lower Adirondacks. All sports, dramatics, nature, arts and crafts, trips, physician, co-religious. Walter Campbell, University of Rochester. Nat Hellenbach, 20 West 43rd Street, New York City.

COUNTRY BOARD

A FEW PAYING GUESTS in exceptionally beautiful spacious Vermont home on top of lovely hill overlooking all reaches of Green Mountains. RI 9-1574, mornings or evenings, or Box 1610, c/o The Nation.

RESORTS

SPRING IN THE RAMAPOS
AT ITS BEST ON OUR 1600 ACRE ESTATE

The Glenmere
Ride along our 21 miles of woodland trails. Golf on our own excellent course. Indoors we have game rooms and pleasant cocktail lounge. You can depend upon consistently fine cuisine and excellent accommodations. Open the year 'round.
Only 51 Miles from New York.
CHESTER, N. Y. Chester 200 (N. Y.) RE. 2-5047

OPENS JUNE 1st
Early Reservations Suggested
Private beach, golf, outdoor activities, fine food.
Direct Bus & Train Transportation. T. H. FLAUM.

MERRIEWOODE
A CAMP FOR ADULTS STODDARD, N. H.
FOR YOUR ENJOYMENT: Beautiful Highland Lake, 10 miles long, with good fishing and free use of boats and canoes; interesting hiking objectives thru woodland trails; fine tennis and handball courts, badminton, shuffleboard, archery, riflery, croquet, ping pong, square dancing.
$45 and $50 weekly. OLIVE H. G. BARON, Director

SCHROON Crest
"In The Adirondacks" Pottersville, N. Y.
OPENS MAY 29th
SPECIAL RATES UNTIL JULY 7th
Private Beach, All Sports, Recordings, Excellent Cuisine • Make Reservations Early
N. Y. City Off.: 142 Montague St., Brooklyn 2, N. Y.
PHONE: MAin 4-8570
LEAH OKUN — IRV. SCHOENBERG, Mgt.
An Adult Resort — On SCHROON LAKE

CRESTWOOD
On a lovely wooded knoll overlooking picturesque Peconic Bay — for a restful, informal vacation.
Excellent Swimming, Boating, Fishing
Indoor Games • French Cuisine
100 Miles from New York
ADELE B. POSNER Tel. Peconic 6992

The Fieldstone
On Round Island Lake
A place of unexcelled beauty for rest and relaxation. One hour from New York.
ALL SPORTS — OPEN ALL YEAR
MONROE, N. Y. Phone 7965

KINAPIC LODGE
LOVELL VILLAGE MAINE
On LAKE KEZAR, *one of America's most beautiful lakes*
Fine lake and stream fishing; good golf; water sports. Cabins on the lake, American plan, informal, for adults and family groups. Excellent Hungarian cuisine, attractive rates. Open June 1 to Oct. 15. Reserve Now.
Booklet by Mail, or Phone Lovell: 7 ring 12 A

OAKWOOD
NEW WINDSOR, N. Y. Newburgh 4477
Delightful...Boating and swimming in our private lake.
Different... The colonial atmosphere.
Delicious... Our unexcelled cuisine.
Diverting... Recordings for listening & dancing.
All this only 53 miles from New York City
A Resort for Adults Only

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED